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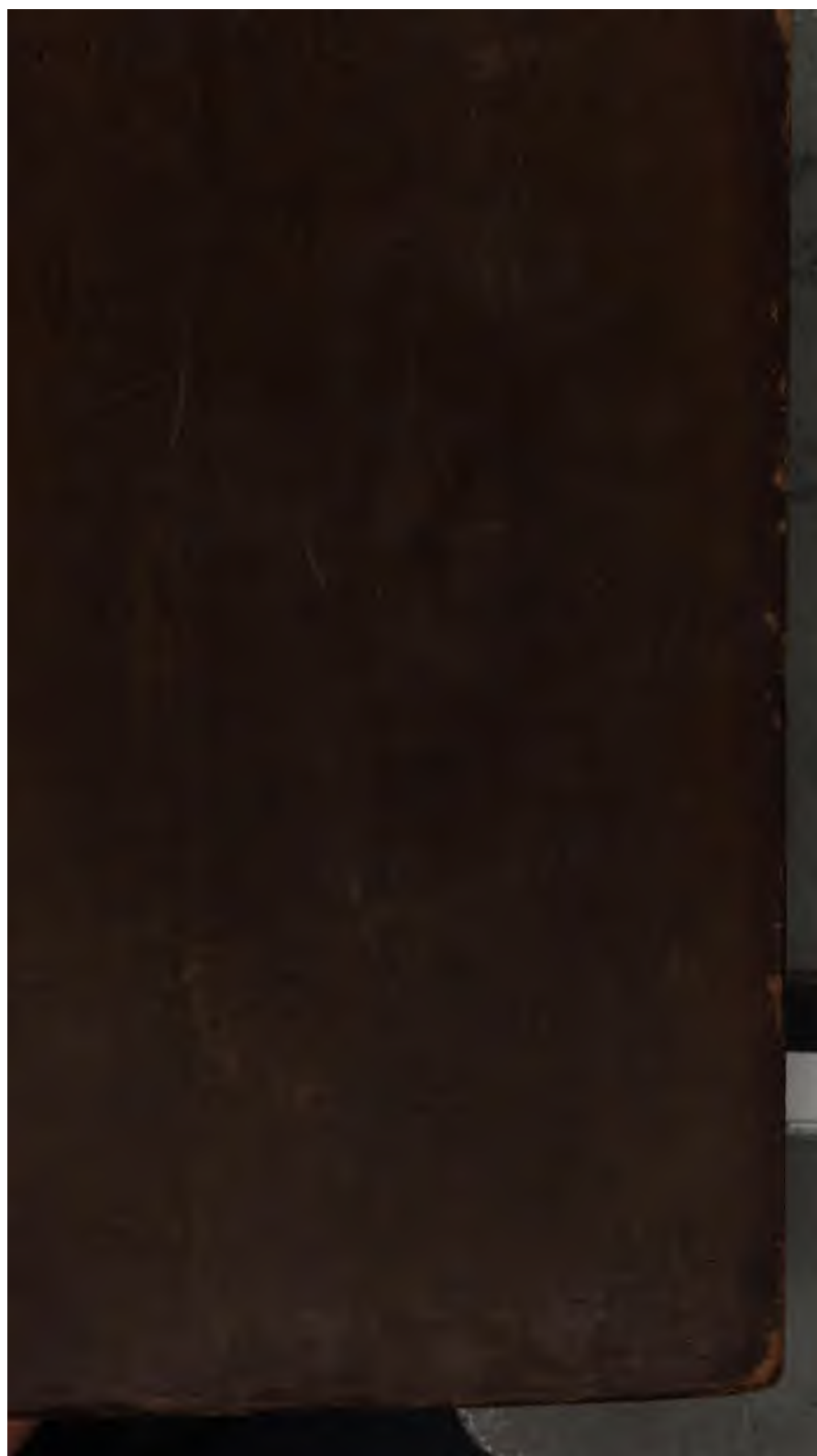
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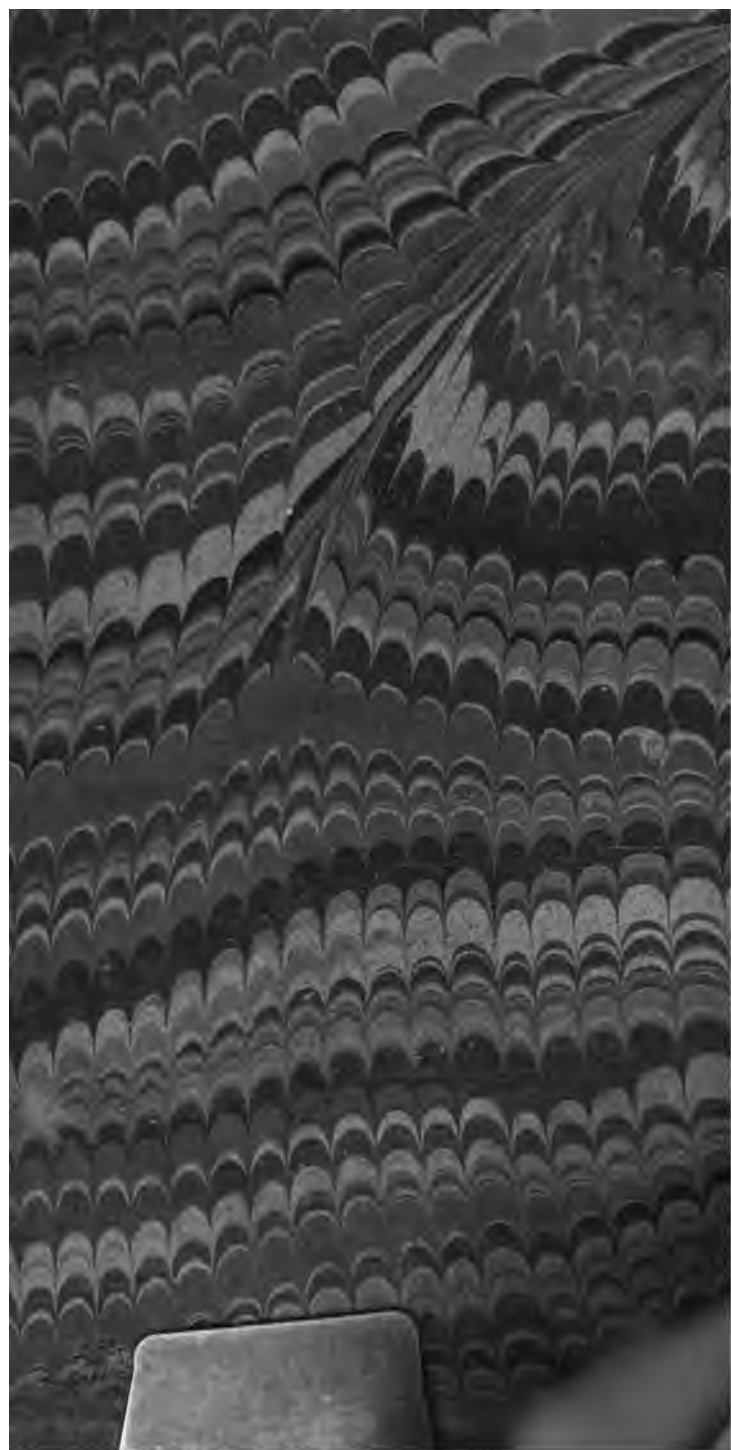
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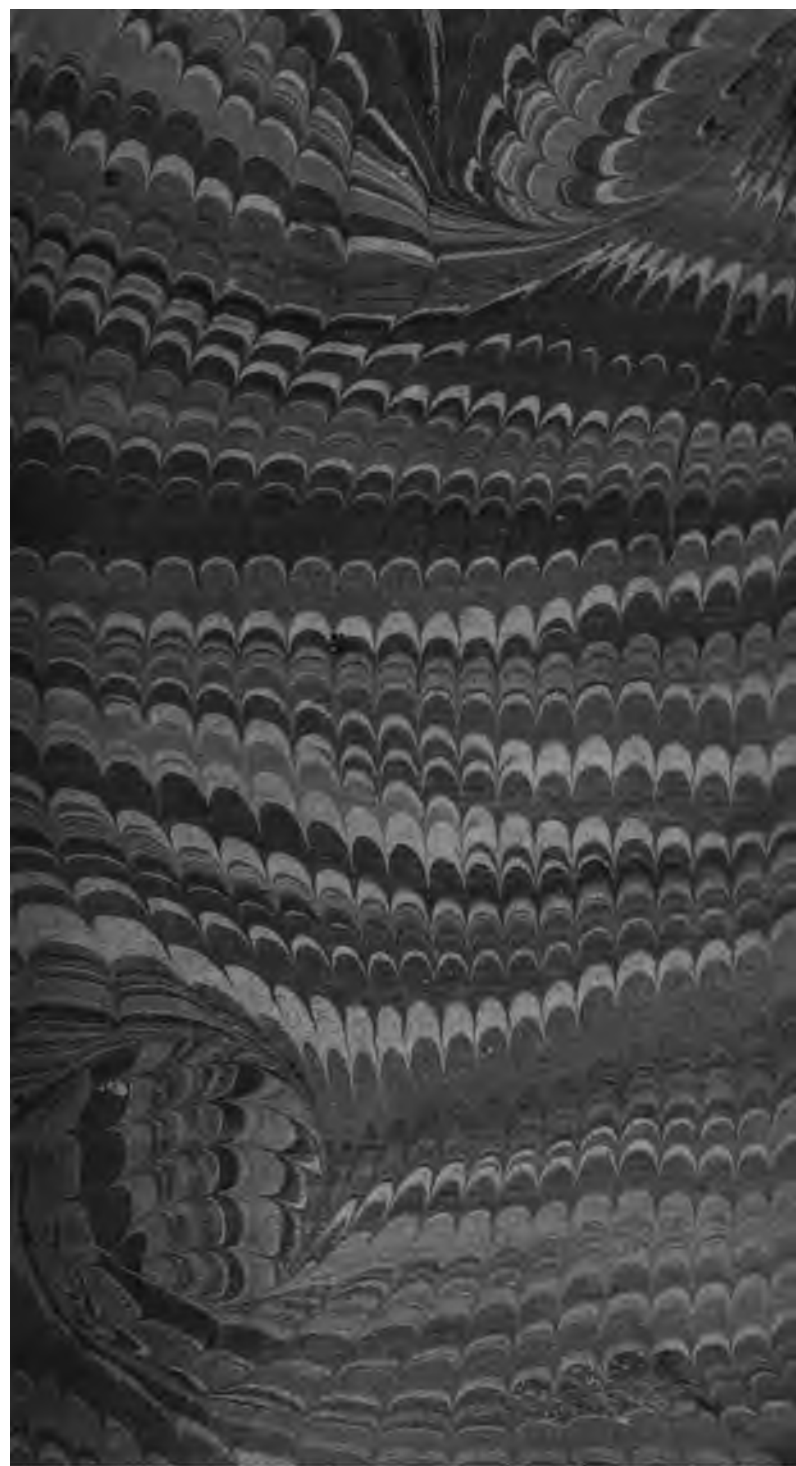
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A COMPENDIOUS
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION,
AND OF THE
Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

FROM
The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,
TO THE
Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH
An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the
French Protestants under *Lewis XIV*. Extracted
out of the Best Authorities.

A WORK never before Published.

By the Reverend
STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,
One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-Street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. IV. BOOK VII.
Containing the History of twenty Years, nine Months, and some
Days, from the 2d of *August* 1589, to the 14th of *May* 1610.

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THESE two last Books, together with the Appendix, contain the Height of Happiness and the Extremity of Misery of our Reformed Churches in France. The Seventh Book treats of all the Difficulties they had to struggle with before they could obtain the Edict of Nantz; and of the Use they made of it, when obtained, during the Reign of that truly great Prince Henry IV. The Eighth Book treats of the Abuse our hot-headed Chiefs made of their Liberty; and of the Miseries they drew upon them and their Posterity by their preposterous Zeal, or rather, by their boundless Ambition or Avarice. In the Seventh Book, you see, that our Forefathers had not only to struggle against the Malice and Hatred of the Enemies of every true Frenchman, and the Natural Enemies of the Reformed, I mean the Leaguers, but also with the Policy of Henry IV's Council. As one of the principal Grievances of the League was the Tolerance granted to the Reformed, and that that Tolerance served as a main Pretence to the House of Guise, for raising their Fortune above their Condition, by exasperating the Catholicks, not only against the Reformed, but even against their own natural King; certainly the King's Council had no less Difficulty than the Reformed, to struggle with, to satisfy

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these last in their Demands, how just soever they were, without giving too great an Offence to the others, who were more powerful, either if you consider their Number or their Quality, and the Rank they did hold in the State. And it is what our Historians, even of those Times, much more of our Days, did not think proper to consider. If we were intirely to rely upon D'Aubigné and Benoit, who wrote above sixty Years after him, Henry IV. was a very ungrateful and unjust Prince, in regard of his Reformed Subjects, because he denied them things which he could not grant without endangering his Crown, and even his own Life. But if we do consult Du Pleffis, how zealous soever he was for his Religion, his Zeal being directed by a Christian Prudence, how eager soever he was, in the pursuit of the Safety and Welfare of the Churches whereof he was a Member, we shall find that Henry was a Prince, who commanded Love, Respect and Trust from the Reformed, and that not only he protected, but that he loved them. And if we do but consider the Circumstances of the Times, he granted them whatever he could grant with safety, and that, though he was forced out of their Religion in order to enjoy his Crown with some earthly Comfort, nevertheless they never had before, much less after him, a better Protector. The Divines amongst us carried the point about the Anti-Christ much further than common Prudence allowed them; and were very near obliging that Prince to take severe Measures with them; nevertheless he spared them, knowing that the Principles whereby they were actuated, were all tending to his own Preservation, and that if some of them had some other view, they were over-ruled

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ruled by the far greatest Number. In one word, there is no true Frenchman, who shall consider the Circumstances of the Times, who will not readily allow, that Henry IV. was more strict to his Word, more good to his Subjects, of what Denomination soever, than any of his Predecessors, or Successors have ever been: And that the Reformed lost in his Death their only Support next to God. I have said, when speaking of his Death, that he expired in his Coach; It is the Account given by Mezeray and Perefixe: But the Author of the Memoirs of Mary of Medicis's Regency, and another Author, say, that he was carry'd Speechless back to the Louvre, and that he expired in it.

The Eighth Book contains the boisterous Reign of Lewis XIII. and that of Lewis XIV. We find under the first, the dreadful Calamities which the criminal Passions of some leading Men among us drew upon the whole Reformed Party in France. Our Enemies knew perfectly well how to make their Profit of our intestine Divisions, how to foment them for the Acceleration of our Ruin. These things I have thoroughly represented in their native Colours; and if I have given no Quarter to our Enemies, I thought myself in Duty bound, not to show more favour to the Heads of our Party, whenever I have met them deviating from the grand Principles of our Religion, in order to gratify their Ambition, Avarice and other-like unruly Passions. I have had no Respect for Men, let their Birth, Dignities, Charges, Employments, &c. be ever so much respectable in themselves; none of these things can alter the Nature of Actions, and of wicked and unjust make them good and just. If I have

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freely spoken my Mind concerning those great Men, who were at the head of the Reformed Party, whenever occasion required it; How could it be expected that I should be less free with our Enemies, whenever I find them trampling upon all the Laws, not only of Justice, but of Humanity itself, in order to gratify their exorbitant and unruly Passions? Methinks it is enough, if I have not charged them with what they were not guilty of: Have I done it? I must answer for it, unless by unquestionable Authorities I should be able to make the Charge good. At least, I am very sensible, and always have been so, that I could not avoid the Censure of the Publick, unless the Facts I do relate should be grounded upon the Testimony of People of a creditable Character, and I am conscious that I have related none but what was grounded upon such an Evidence. Indeed I may have been misled by my Authorities, but then it will be want of Judgment, and not a want of Probity. Now the Authors which I have made use of for composing the History of the Reign of Henry the Great, are, for the most part, the same, as those I had before my Eyes, when I wrote the former Volumes. Thuanus, Mezeray, The Memoirs of the League, The Life of the Constable Les Disguieres, That of the Duke of Espernon, The Life, Letters and Memoirs of Du Pleffis Mor-nay, D'Avila, D'Ossat, Du Perron, Sully, &c. &c. Some of them, such as Thuanus, &c. failed me before the Death of that incomparable Prince. As to the Reign of his Successor, Du Pleffis has been my POLAR STAR to the Year 1623, and whatever I have found in others, that was either contradicted by, or not conformable to the Relation given by that great

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great Man, when he speaks as Actor, or as Spectator, I took it for granted, that it was not true, and consequently, I thought proper either to omit it, or to censure it. But that great Light of our Reformed Churches was put out in 1623, and I dare say, that as to Integrity, Uprightness of Mind, or Impartiality, I could not supply his Place by any other. The *Mémoires of the Duke of Rohan*, *Pontis*, *Bassompierre*, *Battista Nani's History of Venice*, *Le Vassot's History of Lewis XIV.* are the chief Directors which I have followed in writing the remaining Part of the Life of that Prince. As we came nearer our Times, I met with more Darkness, at least as to the certainty of several things, which I took to be written with too great a Partiality, and too little Caution in discerning the Truth. Therefore I thought proper to confine myself to some general Matters confirmed by the concurrent Testimony of several Authors contemporary, who have written some Years after each other, such as *Claude*, *Jurieu*, *Bancillon*, *Benoit*, &c. In truth, being creditably informed, that though they were contemporary, and have written all of them about our Affairs in the interval of 15 Years, nevertheless, they had not copied one after another, I have taken it for granted, that whatever was confirmed by the concurrent Testimony of three of them, and not contradicted by the others, was certainly true; and having found Matters enough grounded upon such an Evidence as well as upon publick Records, I thought I should oblige the Reader, did I abstract as much out of these Authors as was sufficient to inform him of the manifold unnatural Injustices we had to suffer under that perfidious King, without

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tiring his Patience. For that reason it is, that after having run over the first 36 Years of the tyrannical Reign of Lewis XIV. I have set forth under eight general Heads, the several Methods made use of, for compassing our Ruin; howsoever unjust and wicked, and almost incredible, they might appear to the Reader, they are however certainly true, grounded upon Matters of Fact well attested. I don't repent, and consequently I don't, nor I shan't beg my Reader's Pardon, for having spoken of Lewis XIV. and of his Clergy, in the Strain I have done; I consider, and always have considered, and shall consider the first as the Plague of Mankind, designed by the Almighty to be the Rod of his Indignation upon the Nations who did not reverence his Holy Name, like the Assur of old. As to the others, though some amongst them, such as Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, the good Bishop of Pons, and some few others must be excepted from the general Rule; I look upon all the rest as a Pack of Hounds, thirsty after the Blood of Saints, and who deserved no better than to be named with Execration throughout all the future Ages of the World; and indeed their Words and Works sufficiently show what they were. As to my Appendix, few Pages excepted, it is wholly abstracted out of a Manuscript Memoir, written by the Rev. Mr. Graverolles, one of my Predecessors in the two United Chapels of Castle-street and Berwick-street, and which he had designed for the Press. He had been Minister in the Church of Nimes, and his Circumstances enabled him to be thoroughly informed of the Truth of what he has written.

I have nothing more to say, than to refer my Reader to the Errata; and to remember, that I am a Frenchman.

An

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ed by Clement X. Translation of the Chamber of Castres. Deputies of the Reformed sent to the Bastille. War against the Dutch. Ministers, &c. prosecuted in Guienne. Pelisson's Inhumanity. Ways for making Profelytes. Chevalier of Rohan's Plot. Turenne's Death. The Count of Schomberg made Marshal of France. Clement X. dies, Innocent XI. succeeds. Several Injustices. Ruvigni the Son succeeds his Father as Deputy-General. Ruin of the Reformed resolved: Several Injustices and Persecutions. Half-parted Chambers suppressed. Mass restored at Geneva. Eight Heads of Persecution. I. Law Suits. II. Depriving of Employments. III. Missionaries. IV. Taking away of Children. V. Persecutions against Ministers, instanced in several. VI. Persecutions against Churches, instanced in several. VII. Persecutions against Books, and by Books. VIII. Military Executions. Revocatory Edit of Fontainebleau, October 22. 1685. N. S.

Contents of the Appendix.

I. **O***F the Dragoonade. Of Mr. Le Jeune's Sufferings. Of Mr. De La Magdelaine. Samuel Guery. Of Mrs. Fie-Fontaine. Mr. Charpentier. Mr. Renaud. Of Mrs. Tanon. Of Mr. Palmentier. Of James Ryau. Of several Ladies and Gentlewomen. Of Mr. Beauregard. Of the Rev. Dr. James Pine-ton of Chambrun. Of Mrs. Belly. II. Of the Prisons and other nauseous Places. Of Dr. Jortin. Of the Marquis of Rochegude. Of La Flasseiere, a Prison. III. Of the House of Propagation at Uzez. Of the Manufactory at Bourdeaux. Of Frances Pastre. Of several other Women. Of the Hospital of Valence. Sufferings of Mrs. La Farrelle. Of Mr. Menuzet. IV. Of the Gallies. V. Of Transportation. VI. Of those that have suffered Death. VII. Of the dragging of Corpses after Death. The King's Declaration concerning Religion of May 14. 1724. Some Reflections upon it.*



ERRATA

ERRATA in the Seventh Book.

p. Page. l. Line. i. instead. r. read.

P. 36. l. 12. i. of which, Chambers, r. instead of which Chambers. p. 39. l. 23. Bois Dauphine, r. *Bois-Dauphin*. p. 56. l. 35. able stand. r. able to stand. p. 80. l. 4. Family Barons. r. Family, the Barons. p. 110. l. 15. Fever had produc'd. r. Fever proceeded. p. 119. l. 6. would yield, r. would have yield. p. 153. l. 8. near at an end. r. near at hand. p. 170. l. 34. Castle *Dijon*. r. Castle of *Dijon*. p. 173. l. 15. Prætors. r. Proctors. p. 176. l. 19, 20. what they ought to be done. p. 194. 20, 21. wonder'd if. r. wonder'd that. p. 276. l. 4. related. r. relating. p. 394. l. 21. they took down their Ladders, r. they took to their Ladders. p. 415. l. 20. the Senate. r. the Synod. p. 419. l. 13. her Children: r. her Child. p. 452. l. 3. suffered him to remain not. r. suffered him not to remain. p. 453. l. 11, 12. thought to say. r. thought proper to say. p. 458. l. 34. opened this Sessions. r. opened their Sessions. p. 462. The 3d Article is somewhat ambiguous; my meaning is, that *Melvin* was called for to be one of the Ministers of *Rochele*. p. 463. l. 32. *La Miraude*. r. *La Mirande*.

ERRATA in the Eighth Book.

P 504. l. 24, 25. the like seen. r. the like was seen. p. 517. l. 8. shining. r. shined. p. 530. l. 12, 13. common Executioner's Sentence of the Parliament. r. common Executioner's hand, by Sentence, &c. p. 553. l. 23. cruel y. r. cruelly. p. 554. l. 14. *Nantes*, r. *Mantes*. p. 563. l. 6. *Cattino*. r. *Cattivo*. p. 577. the Note L E A R. r. D E A R. p. 582. l. 14. earnestly. r. earnestly. There must be some mistake as to the Sums allow'd as a gratuity both to Mr. *Charmier* and Mr. *Petru*; these differing from what had been allowed; but not paid some Years before by another Synod. I have followed *Quick's* Synodicon. p. 584. l. 9. and supposed them. r. supposed them. p. 606. l. 14. obscure Birth. r. uncertain. p. 644. l. 29. to be feared, was &c. r. to be feared lest &c. p. 653. l. 27. and spoke but very little wifer &c. r. and spoke, but was a little wifer &c. p. 721. l. 8, 9. not the Inhabitants &c. r. not that the &c. p. 723. l. 12. with much &c.

ERRATA

Ec. *r.* with as much *Ec.* p. 724. l. 12. Till this time
Ec. *r.* Till now *Ec.* p. 729. l. 20. formerly opposed.
r. formerly had opposed. p. 741. l. 38. several of the
 Members. *r.* several Members. p. 755. l. 22. to tend.
r. to come. p. 846. l. 15. *D'Ancre* was of a noble Ex-
 traction; *Ec.* See what I say in the Preface upon that
 Subject. p. 853. l. 12. who by their means *Ec.* *r.*
 who by the Intrigues of the two first *Ec.* p. 864. l.
 7, 8. granting. *r.* granted. p. 868. l. 22. built *Ec.* *r.*
 burnt *Ec.* p. 911. l. 3. The first. *r.* The fifth. p.
 928. l. 8. for though he had. *r.* though they had. p.
 1007. l. 13. vindictive. *r.* vindictive. p. 1008. l. 27.
 or in the last Year. *r.* the Year before. p. 1013. l. 1. con-
 trary—against. *r.* contrary—to. p. 1026. l. 25. sup-
 pressed. *r.* attacked. l. 26. *Luo.* *r.* *Luc.* *Sancède.* *r.*
Saucède. p. 1027. l. 11. Provision. *r.* Division. p. 1044.
 l. 32. *Provence.* *r.* Province. p. 1047. l. 24. had set ar
 Edge *Ec.* *r.* had for many Years together whetted the
 Ax, which at last sever'd his Head. p. 1051. l. 7. a-
 gainst their Government. *r.* the Government. p. 1076.
 l. 26. II. They were allowed *Ec.* *r.* That they should
 be allow'd *Ec.* p. 1104. l. 10. 1695. *r.* 1595. p. 1109.
 l. 21. *Anne.* *r.* *Mary.* p. 116. l. 37. whereas. *r.* because.
 p. 1169. l. 14, 15. Printer. *r.* Bookseller.

ERRATA in the Appendix.

P. 10 l. 8. between it *Ec.* *r.* between them. p. 43.
 l. 8. and then he would. *r.* and then they would.

N. B. I have omitted to speak of Marshal
d'Ancre in the Preface; concerning whom I say,
 p. 846, that he was of a Noble Extraction: It
 is the Account given by *Bassompierre* of that
 famous Favourite, and whom I had not consulted
 as yet, when I have said in the seventh Book,
that he was of a mean Extraction; I had then
 before me a Collection of Pamphlets, or rather
 Libels, published against the Ministry under
 the Minority of *Lewis XIII.* *Bassompierre* is
 rather to be credited.

HISTORY



HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

The Fourth and Last Volume.

Containing the History of ninety-six Years, two Months, and nine Days from the 2d of August 1589, to the 11th of October 1685.

BOOK VII.

Containing the History of twenty-one Years, nine Months, and thirteen Days, from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Crown of France, on the 2d of August 1589, to his Death, which happened on the 14th of May 1610.

THIS REIGN is divided into two parts. The first contains nine ^{I. Introduct.} Years wanting two Months, from the 2d of *August* 1589, to the Peace of *Vervins*, sworn unto by King *Henry IV.* at the beginning of *June* 1598. The second, contains the remaining part of his Life, about twelve Years. The first Part was exceedingly thorny, confused, and perplexed, till he was acknowledged King of *France* by

VOL. IV. B all

Introduet. all his Subjects, throughout the whole Kingdom; for during all that Time, the most impudent and passionate Leaguers, stiled him only THE BEARNESE, some more moderate, THE PRINCE OF BEARN, and the noblest Title bestowed upon him by some others of the Catholick Party was that of KING OF NAVARRE. That Part offers to our Sight a horrid Scene of the most unjust Passions, displaying by turns their direful Effects, Hatred, Ambition, Avarice, Blind Zeal, Rebellion, Disloyalty, Treason, Fury, Rapaciousness. But HENRY having been trained up in Adversities, and fed as it were upon bitter Roots from his Cradle to the present Times, extricated himself by hard Labour out of all these Difficulties, and tasted at last the sweet Fruits of his Magnanimity.

No Prince in *France* had had so little prospect of ever succeeding to that Crown, as our *Henry* had at his Birth-Day, for tho' he was descended in a right masculine Line from *Lewis IX.* alias *St. Lewis*, by *Robert* Count of *Clermont* in *Beauvaisis*, his youngest Son, who married *Beatrix*, Daughter and Heiress of *Agnez* of *Bourbon*, Heiress of *Archembaud* Lord of *Bourbon*; yet at this time he was related to the Crown, but in the tenth or eleventh Degree, and there were six Princes between himself and the Throne when he was born in 1553, viz. King *Henry II.* who was then but 35 Years old, his four Sons, *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* *Henry III.* *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, and his own Father *Anthony* King of *Navarre* who was then but 33 Years old. Nevertheless his Right was thought so indisputable by the greatest part of the People, that had it not been for his Religion, he would have met with no other Opposition

position to the full Enjoyment thereof, but from those of the Leaguers that adhered to the House of *Lorrain*, which could not oppose him long, being too inconsiderable.

Henry IV.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

In speaking of the first part of this Reign, I shall confine my self to what relates more nearly to my main Design, as to the Battles, Fights, Encounters, Sieges, abortive Negotiations, &c. Of all these Things only by the way.

As soon as the King was dead, his *Navarrese* Majesty returned to his own Quarters at *Meudon*, attended by some of his Confidants; there he consulted with them about what was to be done in the present Emergency, some advised him to raise the Siege of *Paris*, and retire to *Tours* with such Troops of the royal Army as would follow him, besides his own; at first the King inclined to it, fearing lest by endeavouring to preserve the *Northern* Countries, he should be in danger of losing both the *Southern* and *Northern*. But *Guitry*, a Lord of great Capacity and Experience, set forth in a full Light how dishonourable such a Step would be, how hurtful to his Majesty's Interest, that most part of the Nobility in the royal Army had their Estates situated on this side the *Loire*, whither they would repair, did they perceive any Faint-heartedness in the King, any Intention of forsaking them; that the *Switzers* his Auxiliaries thinking themselves released from their Engagement with the late King by his Death, would certainly return into their own Country without any Delay, did his Majesty leave the *Seine* in order to return to the *Loire*, but very likely would stay at *Sancy's* Persuasion if he remained; that they ought to be spoken to, and their Intention known, before they came to

II.
The King
of Na-
varre con-
sults what
to do.

Some Commotions in Poitou, &c. A Political Assembly at Gergeau. Assembly of the Clergy at Paris. Marriages at Court. Truce for 12 Years between Spain and the United Provinces. Petitions of the Reformed favourably answered. The nineteenth National Synod. Las Diguieres promoted to the Marshal's Staff. The Expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain. The King's vast Preparations for the Execution of his great Design. His Scheme. The Means he employed to execute it. His Preparations. He is upon the point of beginning. His march deferred. He is murdered; his Character.

CONTENTS of the Eighth Book.

THE deceased King is sadly lamented by all true Frenchmen. The Queen-Mother is declared Regent. Great Jealousies at Court. Ravaillac tried; affected Negligence in the Prosecution. Ravaillac's Trial, Condemnation, and Execution. Proceedings of the Parliament against the Doctrine of the Jesuits. The Jesuits are exposed to the Censure of the Preachers. The King's Funeral. The Prince of Condé arrives at Court. The Regency, may be considered under four different Shapes. Juliana relieved. The Queen repeals several Money-Bills. Sully's Imprudence. The Duke of Bouillon's Behaviour. Du Plessis Mornay's Generosity. The King's Declaration confirming the Edict of Nantz. Some Observations upon the same. The Reformed send their Deputies to Court. They think of their own Safety; they resolve to ask a Political Assembly. Reasons against it. Licence for holding a Political Assembly granted. The King's Coronation. Sully's Resignation of his Offices. Bellarmine's Book condemned by the Parliament. The Nuncio's Complaints against the Parliament's Decree. Jesuit Aubignay's sudden Death. Preparations for the Political Assembly; they open their Sessions; their Proceedings. Instructions given to the Representatives. Some Considerations

derations about that Assembly. Pamphlets published against it. Causes of our Misfortunes, 1. Ambition and Avarice of the great Men. 2. The King and Queen-Mother's Character. Du Plessis's Book censured. The Duke of Savoy's Designs upon Geneva. Devices of the Court against the Reformed; they send Deputies to Court. Some Reflections upon the Marshal of Bouillon's Conduct. Endeavours to procure a Reconciliation. Rashness of the Duke of Rohan. The Duke of Bouillon Ambassador in England. The twentieth National Synod. Success of the Mediator's Negotiations. Some Reflections upon the whole Affair. Death of the Count of Soissons. Reconciliation of Du Plessis with Rohan. Some Broils at Saumur composed. Justice done by the Chamber of the Edit at Paris. An Edit in behalf of the Bishop of Montpelier. The Prince of Condé with his Adherents absent from Court. The Prince's Manifesto, the Queen's Answer. She prepares to oppose the Prince. The Prince solicits the Reformed; but in vain. The Prince treats with the Queen, and concludes. The twenty-first National Synod. Some Account of Ferrier. Suarez's Book branded by the Parliament of Paris. The Pope exasperated at it. The Court's Journey into Brittany. New Broils at Court. Remonstrances of the Parliament. The Reformed solicited by the Prince. Of Les Disguieres. The Court insists as to the Place of the Political Assembly. The Court yields, and appoints Gergeau. The Reformed desire Grenoble, which is granted. Retreat of the Prince, &c. from Court. Fruitless Negotiations for his Return. The King sets out for his Journey into Guienne; and publishes a Declaration against the Prince, &c. Its Inefficacy on account of the potent Spirit of the Clergy. Du Plessis's good Advices. Why ineffectual. Proceedings of the Assembly of Grenoble. They send some Deputies to the King; their Demands partly favourably answered; but not to the Satisfaction of the Deputies. They write to the Duke of Rohan, who foolishly resolves to take

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Henry IV. Prince, and their Example will influence their
 1589. Family and Dependants.

Pope Six-
 tus V.

At last this Opinion prevailed, viz. to ac-
 knowledge Henry of Bourbon as King of

V. France, to swear unto him their Allegiance up-
 on these Terms. 1°. That he shall promise
 They agree
 to acknow-
 ledge Hen-
 ry upon
 certain
 Terms.

nothing in the Catholick Apostolick Roman
 Religion, neither in its Doctrine, nor in its Dis-
 cipline. 2°. That he shall dispose of all Ec-
 clestiaſtical Dignities and Preferments only in be-
 half of Persons well qualified as to their Learn-
 ing and Morals, and professing the Catholick
 Religion. 3°. And whereas he had oftentimes
 declared, before he was called to the Crown,
 that, as to his own Religion, he was ready to
 submit himself to the Determination and In-
 struction of a free general or national Council,
 they required that he would be pleased to sum-
 mon one in six Months Time if it was possible,
 and to stand by its Decision. 4°. That in the
 mean while he should forbid the publick Exer-
 cise of any other Religion besides the Catholick
 throughout the whole Kingdom, those Places
 excepted which are now in the hands of the
 Reformed, according to the Articles of the
 Truce agreed with the late King in April last,
 and that the same shall subsist till otherwise or-
 dained either by a general Pacification of the
 Kingdom, or by the States General to be sum-
 moned in six Months, if possible. 5°. That
 none but Catholick Governors shall be put in
 the Cities and Castles to be taken during the
 War, those excepted for which it has been o-
 therwise provided by the abovesaid Truce.
 6°. That none but Catholicks shall be advan-
 ced to the Dignities, Commanderships, and
 publick Offices in the Cities, always excepting
 those

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 7

those which are held by the Reformed : Lastly, ^{Henry IV} That he shall preserve the Dignities, Privileges, Prerogatives, Liberties and Estates belonging to the Princes, Dukes, Peers, Great Officers of the Crown, Lords, Nobles, and other faithful Subjects, and that he shall have a particular Regard for the late King's faithful Ministers, and shall endeavour to bring the detestable Authors, Abettors, and Accomplices of the Parricide perpetrated on his most sacred Person, to a condign Punishment, which might serve for an Example to deter other Villains from committing the Like. These Terms being consented to by his Majesty, the Princes of the Blood, the Dukes, Peers, Great Officers of the Crown, Lords and Nobles, were to acknowledge *Henry IV. King of France and Navarre* for their lawful Sovereign, and swear Allegiance unto him, promising to spare neither their Labours, Lives, or Estates till they had exterminated the Rebels who usurped the supreme Authority in the Kingdom ; and were to desire his Majesty to summon the General States, to satisfy what was required of him especially as to Religion, and to give them leave to send some Deputies of their own Body to the Pope, in order to inform his Holiness of the Reasons which had induced them to acknowledge his Majesty and swear Allegiance to him, and to beseech him to grant them what they thought might be conducive to the Good and Welfare of *Christianity* in general, and to the King and Kingdom in particular.

These Articles being drawn up, they waited upon his Majesty, and on the 4th of *August* they were signed by the King on one side, and on the other by the Prince of *Conti*, the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *Longueville*, *Piney*, *Montba-*

1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

VI.
The King
accepts of
them.

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Henry IV. *zon*, the Marshals of *Biron* and *Aumont*, and
 1589. several other Lords, Officers, and Ministers of
Pope Six- State; and verified and registered the 14th of
tus V. the same Month, in the Parliament of *Tours*.

Some of the Lords that were then present, tho' they heartily approved of what was done, nay, tho' they had been Advisers thereof, nevertheless they refused to subscribe, because they pretended to a Precedency above the Marshals, but whereas that Affair was transacted in a Camp, it was the Opinion of the Majority, that these last had a right to precede all Dukes and Peers, and that they ought to follow immediately after the Princes of the Blood on such Occasions; the Duke of *Espernon* was one of those who refused.

VII. This is summarily the genuine Account
D'Avila's which *Thuanus* gives of that famous Transaction;
Mistake. *D'Avila* don't differ much from him, he says much the same as to the Essentials, tho' he is very wrong informed when he says, that *Du Plessis* opposed as much as he could the giving any satisfaction to the Catholicks. First, that Lord was at *Saumur* sick a-bed when these things were transacting. Secondly, far from being contrary to that Satisfaction, he advised his Majesty, by a Memoir which he sent from *Saumur* on the 10th of *August*; First to give the Catholicks a full Declaration concerning their Religion, whereby his Majesty shall promise to change nothing in the Roman Religion, and in the mean while, to procure by all good and lawful Means, and by the Advice of the Princes of the Blood, the Officers of his Crown, and other Persons well qualified, the Re-Union of all his Subjects. Secondly, to be cautious as to the Words which he shall make use of, speaking of his Reformed Subjects, for not offending

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE* 9

offending either of the Parties, the most proper Words seem to be these, *The Religion which we call Reformed, or called Reformed.* By another Article he says, that it is necessary to write to all the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom, and to the Governours of Places where the said Religion prevails, that they behave themselves more modestly than ever towards the Catholicks either in Deeds or Words, to repress the Sauciness of People, and to live in Peace and Union with the said Catholicks. Otherwise it is to be feared lest there should be great Commotions in some Places. By another he thinks, that the Regulations made for the Preservation of Churches, Relicks, &c. ought to be reiterated, and more exactly kept than ever. By another, It may be, says he, that his Majesty shall be intreated to restore the Mass at *Niort* and some other Places, that must be granted; but shall be a Precedent for granting the Reformed the Restoration of the free Exercise of their Religion in some other Places, &c. How then could *D'Avila* say that *Du Plessis* opposed the King in what he did? Let the Reader be Judge.

Henry IV.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

But my Wonder is, that the reverend Historian of the Edict of *Nantz* gives us quite a different Account of the Transactions of these three first Days, and of the Agreement concluded between the King and the Catholick Lords. He doth at first presuppose, that *Henry IV.* was not sincerely adhering to his Religion, and upon that ground he builds several Reflections upon that Prince's Character, pretending, *that those who had been brought up with him in his youth knew very well, that, Patience was none of his Favourite Virtues, and that he was not Proof against long Enterprizes,*

VIII.
Mr. Benoit's
wrong No-
tion.

and

Henry IV. *and consequently would be quickly weary of the*
 1589. *Difficulties in conquering so many Places as held*
 Pope Six- *out for the League, and that if he could shorten*
 tus V. *them by changing his Religion, that would be no*
Baulk in his way. How could that Reverend
 Author speak so of that Prince? How many
 hard Tryals, and Temptations had he not been
 Proof against, for about 13 Years together?
 Had he not had it many times in his power to
 shorten them, by renouncing his Religion?
 And if it had not been, that Patience and For-
 bearance were some of his favourite Virtues,
 how could he have been a Proof for so many
 Years against the Frownings and sour Temper
 of his Censors? As to the Agreement, he says
 that the Catholick Lords presented four Arti-
 cles unto him. 1st, *That he should cause himself*
to be instructed in six Months. Whereupon he
 delivers his own Comment. 2d, *That the Ex-*
ercise of the Reformed Religion should be suspend-
ed for that time. 3d, *That he should grant no*
Office to any Reformed for those six Months.
 Whereupon he says, “ that the Catholicks de-
 “ fired this, to secure those which were in pos-
 “ session of them, from being turned out,”
 (which, indeed is very true.) 4th, *That they*
should have permission to send to the Pope, to
give him an Account of their Reasons for submit-
ting to the King's Obedience. And he con-
 cludes, “ Altho', it was very hard for the
 “ King to buy a Crown so dear, that was le-
 “ gally fallen to him, yet he consented to all
 “ but the second Article.” Very right indeed,
 had these Conditions ever been proposed to the
 King, such as they are exhibited, by Mr. *Be-*
noist, and by *Mezeray*, of whom I suppose he
 had borrowed them, for that Reverend Histo-
 rian has not thought proper to quote his Au-
 thorities

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* II

thorities in the whole Course of his History, Henry IV. only he gives a List of the Authors he has made use of, at the head of each Volume in Quarto, and leaves it to the Reader to buy them and consult them all from the beginning to the end, if he has a mind to satisfy himself as to the Veracity. But surely, *Tbuanus* ought to know better what Terms were proposed to. and accepted by the King, than *Mezeray* who came upon the Stage many Years after him; the first was actually in the King's Service when that Affair was transacted, and tho' absent upon his Majesty's Predecessor's Business, he came back soon enough to read them when they were fresh registered at *Tours*. And *D'Avila* agreeing in the most essential Parts of these Articles, with *Tbuanus*, there is no reason to doubt but that *Mezeray's* are spurious, and those which I have transcribed out of *Tbuanus* genuine. There remains *D'Aubigné*, who was of the King's Household when that Agreement was made; he relates a Speech made to the King by *d'O*, Superintendent of the Exchequer, in the Name of the Catholick Lords: But tho' he was bold even to Impudence, threatening his Majesty if he refused to renounce his Religion without delay, not a Word of these pretended Conditions, and far from requiring the King to suspend the Exercise of the Reformed Religion for six Months, he insinuates to his Majesty that if the Reformed of that Time were like to their Fathers, it would be an easy Matter to satisfy them by giving them their BELLY-FULL of Sermons; but if they did carry their Ambition any further, it will not be a very hard Task to cure them of their Distemper when his Majesty shall be reconciled to his Kingdom. Nevertheless, since *Tbuanus*, nor even *D'Avila* say

1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Henry IV. say not a word of that Speech of *D'O*, I would
 1589. not rely too much upon *D'Aubigné's* single
Pope Six- Testimony.
tus V.

Now granting that *Tbuanus* and *D'Avila* have transmitted unto us the genuine Terms of the abovesaid Agreement, I refer to the impartial and equitable Reader to judge whether there is any thing in the Conditions of the Agreement which was not quite natural for the Catholick Party to ask, any thing dishonourable to the King's Majesty, any thing unreasonable for him to grant? The Lords of *Plessis Mornay*, *La Nouë*, *Viscount of Turenne*, and several others great supporters of the Reformed Party had no such Notion, they were thoroughly persuaded that in the present Circumstances, the King ought not to be too stiff, but rather to endeavour to appease their Fears and give them all reasonable Securities as to their Religion: This is very plain by these Articles of *Du Plessis's* Memoirs abovementioned, they were very sensible that it was impossible for his Majesty ever to be acknowledged by the Catholick Party upon any other account soever.

But let us bring the Matter more home, let us suppose for a Minute that the Reformed Church was the National Church of *France*, and that the King of *Navarre* was brought up in and professed the Catholick Religion; what would the Reformed have done upon such an Occasion? Would they have acknowledged his Title without providing for the Security of their Religion and for their own? and could they do less than to require the same Terms as the Catholicks did? surely they would have required the same, or been very imprudent. It would be very impertinent to say that what is lawful for those who profess a true Religion is not for them who profess a false one, no Man
 in

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 13

in the World will own that he professes knowingly a false Religion, contrariwise he holds his own for the best, and his Neighbour's for the wrong. Neither can it be said, that they did violence to the King's Conscience, when they intreated him to suffer himself to be instructed in a General or National Council, and to summon such a one in six Months Time if possible; for he had offered the same oftentimes of his own Accord; *Et volenti non fit injuria*: Besides that, had he been either Son, or Brother, or Uncle, or First Cousin to the deceased King, that Condition would have been too hard upon him; but he had not so near a Relation to the Crown, he was but in the tenth or eleventh Degree, his Title was disputable, and actually disputed by his Uncle the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who in such a Case might have been preferred before him, being a Degree nearer the Throne than himself. So that if every thing was duly considered, it will be found that the Catholick Lords did not exceed at all the Rules of Modesty in the Conditions they required from the King, such as they are recorded by *Thuanus*, and that the King could not do less for their satisfaction in the present Juncture, than to accept and subscribe them (b).

Henry IV.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

True it is that a few Weeks after, the Reformed had reason to complain of several Injustices done unto them even by the Parliament of *Tours*, and that their Condition became worse than it had been during the four or five last Months of the late King's Reign; but it was
none

(b) Read *Thuanus* *ibid.* D'Avila *Liv. x.* p. 52—55. D'Aubigné *Tom. III.* *Liv. ii.* ch. 24. Vie de Du Pleffis Mornay, *Liv. I.* p. 137, 138. Mem. de Du Pleffis Mornay, *Tom. II.* p. 1—20. Benoit *Hist. of the Edict of Nantz*, done into *English* by *Cooke*, *Tom. I.* Book ii. p. 54—60.

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Henry IV. none of the King's fault, his Orders were still
^{1589.} but little regarded, as it appears by *Du Plessis's*
Pope Six- Letters to the President *D'Espeffes*. One must
tus V. not judge of that Prince's Affection to the Re-
 formed by what happened before he was settled
 upon his Throne, and his Authority fully ac-
 knowledged, but by what he did for them when
 he was really in a Condition to do them good.
 I have thought proper to say so much in Vindi-
 cation of that first Step which *Henry IV.* took
 at his Accession to the Crown of *France*.

IX. Under several frivolous Pretences the Duke
Espernon of *Espernon* left the Camp, and brought along
leaves the with him most part of the Troops, however he
Army. gave the King his word that he would never
 adhere to the Leaguers, nor take Party against
 him, but rather do him all the Service he
 could in his own Government: and indeed
 he was as good as his word. His Example was
 followed by several others; some there were
 even that took party with the League. The
 King of *Navarre* had been proclaimed King of
France immediately after his Predecessor's
 Death by his own Army composed mostly of
 Reformed; nevertheless, a few Officers thereof
 for want of Pay left the Camp for a little time,
 with his Majesty's Licence, and went home in
 order to make some Provisions.

X. While these Things were a doing in the
What pas- Camp, the *Parisians* ran almost mad for joy
sed at Paris when they heard of the King's Death, the
at this Duchess Dowager of *Montpensier* distributed a-
Time. mongst them a great number of green Scarves;
 nothing was to be seen in the Streets, but Feast-
 ings and Dancings, and such other Demonstra-
 tions of Joy; *James Clement* the Villain Assas-
 sin of *Henry III.* was without Delay fainted,
 Prayers were put up to him, his Images and
 Statues

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Statues at full Length were worshipped, his ^{Henry IV.} Mother and some others of his Relations that ^{1589.} came at that Time to *Paris* were enriched by ^{Pope Sixtus V.} the free Gifts they received of People of all Ranks.

In the mean while the Duke of *Mayenne* un- ^{XI.} derstanding that that Parricide had been killed ^{The Duke of Mayenne's} upon the spot, caused many Persons of all Ranks who had been arrested Prisoners the ^{Measures.} Day before that Villain had perpetrated the Crime, to be released; (*which was a clear Indication that the Leaguers were privy to CLEMENT's Plot, since they had been so careful as to provide for his Safety, to make him escape the dreadful Punishment he would deservedly have undergone had he survived his Crime.*) Then he wrote to the Cities and Governours of Provinces, to acquaint them of what had happened by a special Benefit of God Almighty, as he said; and exhorted them not to shew themselves ungrateful, but rather to exert themselves more and more for the Advancement of Religion; that heretofore they had had to deal with secret Enemies of God, but now with open; that they ought not to question but that King *Philip*, who had heretofore supported the CAUSE, tho' underhand, would now undertake openly the Defence thereof, and spare nothing in order to have it victorious, being no longer restrained by any Scruple, &c. He wrote likewise to King *Philip*, whom he basely stiled the DEFENDER OF THE TRUE RELIGION, and ITS SUREST SUPPORT, he besought him with all Humility to make use of that immense Power which he had so deservedly received of God for rooting out intirely the Venom of Heresy, whereby the Kingdom, formerly so flourishing, was infected for so many

Henry IV. many Years; that all true Catholics in *France*
 1589. had their Eyes fixed upon him, waiting for his
Pope Six- Assistance to be delivered from the threatening
tus V. Danger.

He pro- Several of his Friends and Adherents advised
claims him to take possession of the Throne for him-
Cardinal self, but the wisest deterred him from it, set-
of Bour- ting forth in a very lively manner, the many
bon King insuperable Inconveniencies and Difficulties
of France. wherewith such an Attempt would be attended,
 and persuaded him to cause Cardinal of *Bourbon*
 to be proclaimed King of *France*, which Ad-
 vice prevailed in his Council, as the safest, and
 the most honourable for himself, seeing that as
 that Prince was detained close Prisoner, he
 would have but the bare Name of a King, and
 the whole Authority would remain in his own
 hands. Accordingly the Cardinal was pro-
 claimed King with all the usual Formalities, so
 far as the Times would allow, under the Name
 of *Charles X.*

Before that, the King had endeavoured to
 bring *Mayenne* into his Interest, by very large
 Offers which were made to him, for which
 purpose he had sent *Marfilleres* to confer with
Villeroy; but the Duke was stiff in his Resolu-
 tion, and answered, that tho' he had a great
 Value and Respect for the King of *Navarre*,
 nevertheless he would never hearken to any
 Proposition unless the Cardinal of *Bourbon* should
 be set at liberty, and the said King turned
 Catholic.

On the 7th of *August* he published an Edict
 in his own Name as Lieutenant-General of the
 State and Crown of *France*, and of the Coun-
 cil of Union settled at *Paris*, whereby he ad-
 vises, exhorts, and desires all Princes, Lords, and
 others, either of the Nobility or of the Clergy,
 to

to pay to their own Catholick King, the Allegiance due to their lawful and natural Prince, to join their Forces together for his Assistance, and to oblige themselves by publick Instruments before their Governours or Magistrates, that they would live and die in the Roman Religion, and endeavour to the best of their power to procure its Advancement, and not to assist the Sectaries in any manner soever, &c. He wrote two Days after to the Governours of Provinces in the same Strain (c).

Marshal of *Matignon* Governor of *Bordeaux* XII. had kept till then that City in awe, but after the King's Death knowing that the Parliament stood ill affected to his Successor, on account of his Religion, and rightly judging that it was not proper to use Force in the present Juncture, he cunningly engaged the Parliament to honour the late King's Memory, by a Decree which they published, whereby they declared, that having been fully informed of the lamentable Death of the King, they, at the Request of the Attorney-General, and by the Advice of Marshal *Matignon*, exhorted the Archbishops, Bishops and Curates of their Jurisdiction to put up Prayers for his late Majesty, for the Tranquillity of the Kingdom and the Welfare of the Roman Catholick Church, and commanded the Governours, Magistrates and Consuls of the Cities to watch carefully, lest any Disturbance should happen either in the Civil or Ecclesiastick; to observe the Edicts published in *July* and *October* last Year, and the Decrees of *December* and *April* last, ordering the Nobility, Gentry, Officers, &c. who had taken Arms against the late King to lay them down, and retire quickly to their own Habitations,

(c) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 11. D'Avila liv. x. p. 58, 59, Vol. IV. C living

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Henry IV. living there according to the Edicts and Decrees aboveſaid, till God in his Mercy ſhall be pleased to reſtore every thing in the Church and State, &c. done the 19th of *Auguſt*. But it was impoſſible for the ſaid Maſhal to have the preſent King mentioned in the Decree; however he made a good uſe of this, ſuch as it was, for keeping the Province of *Guienne* in the Bounds of Duty, few Places excepted, where the League prevailed (d).

The Parliament of *Tbolouſe* exceeded all bounds of Moderation, by the Decree which they publiſhed the 22d of *Auguſt*, which runs as follows.

XIII. The Court, all the Chambers thereof being aſſembled, being informed of the wonderful and dreadful Death of *Henry III.* happened on the 1ſt of this Month (*it was the ſecond*) has enjoined, and enjoins again by theſe Preſents, unto all Princes, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, Officers and others, of what Rank and Quality ſoever, to unite themſelves again for the Conſervation of the holy Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion, the Reſt and Welfare of Catholick Princes, Lords, Cities, and Commonalties leagued together for the Defence thereof: Has exhorted and does exhort all Biſhops and Paſtors of the Dioceſes of this Diſtrict, to make publick Thakſgivings to God, every one in his own Church for the Bleſſing of the Deliverance of the City of *Paris* and other Cities of this Kingdom: Has ordained, and doth ordain, that every Year on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, Proceſſions ſhall be made, and publick Prayers put up to God, for an Acknowledgment of the Bleſſings conferred upon us on that Day: Has forbidden and does forbid moſt expreſly to all Perſons

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 19

Persons of what Rank, Quality and Condition soever, without any Exception, to acknowledge for King, *Henry of Bourbon*, pretended King of *Navarre*, to favour him; to afford him any Assistance soever on pain of Death, as Hereticks and Disturbers of the publick Peace: And the said Court enjoins unto all the said Bishops and Pastors, to cause the Bull of our most Holy Father Pope *Sixtus V.* justly published against the said *Henry of Bourbon*, to be read again, kept and observed punctually; in virtue and by the Authority whereof, the said Court of the Parliament has declared, and does declare him incapable ever to succeed to the Crown of *France*, on account of the manifold and notorious Crimes fully specified therein. Injoins all Bailiffs, Provosts and Seneschals of this Jurisdiction; to cause the Contents of the present Decree to be published, kept and observed punctually; on pain of being punished and chastised as Abettors of Hereticks. Who will not wonder at the impudent Madness of those *Gascons!* (e)

Now the most Christian King; seeing that there were so many disaffected Persons in his Army, and that their Number increased every Day through the Seductions of the Leaguers Emissaries that came from *Paris* to the Camp, having called together all the Officers; he spoke to them in a way suitable to his Dignity, and having upbraided them for their Disloyalty, and told them with Scorn that he had no need of their Services, and that they might go away whenever they pleased (f). However: lest that Evil should make further Progress, it was

C 2

thought

(e) Idem. ibid. *Memoirs de la Ligue*, Tom. IV. page 51, 52.

(f) Thuan. *Ibid.*

Henry IV.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

XIV.
The King
raises the
Siege of
Paris.

Henry IV. thought proper to raise the Siege, and in order
 1589. to do it with less Dishonour, the King took
 Pope Six- the plausible Pretence of accompanying the
 tus V. Corps of his Predecessor (g).

*He marches to Com-
 piegne.* Accordingly on the 5th of *August* he march-
 ed with the whole Army, reduced to little less
 than the half of what it was at the beginning of
 the Siege, and went to *Compiegne*, where the
 Corps was deposited in *St. Corneille's Church* ;
 in his way thither he took *Meulans, Gisors,*
 and *Clermont in Beauvaisis.*

At *Compiegne* he held a Council of War, to
 consider what was to be done ; and it was re-
 solved, the Enemy appearing no where, to di-
*He divides
 his Army.* vide the Troops, part whereof composed mostly
 of the Nobility and Gentry of *Picardy*, marched
 into that Province under the Command of the
 Duke of *Longueville* Governor thereof ; another
 part composed mostly of the Nobility and Gentry
 of *Champaign*, went into that Province under the
 Command of Marshal *d'Aumont*, and the other
 part remained with the King. Nothing could
 be more prudently done than that Repartition,
 for that Army could not have subsisted together
 easily, for want of Money and other Necessa-
 ries ; had they been sent into some other Pro-
 vinces, the Nobility and Gentry would have
 had a just Pretence to take their leave and re-
 pair every one to his own Habitation, to take
 care of their Families, especially in that season of
 the Year ; but being sent into their own Pro-
 vinces under a Chief, it was almost the same
 as if they had been in a Camp. He enjoined
 these two Generals to assist one another if they
 were

(g) Idem ibid. But he says that he was afraid lest the
Parisians, who had so little regard for him when alive,
 would satiate their Rage upon his Corps. *Mém. de la
 Ligue*, Tom. IV. p. 55.

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were attacked. His Majesty kept with himself Henry IV. the third and best Part of the Army, with the Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the ^{1589.} *Great Prior of France*, Colonel of the Light Horse, Marshal of *Biron*, the Lord *Charles Damville* Son to the Marshal of *Montmorancy*, *De Rieux*, *Cbatillon*, several Lords of his Council, Captains and other Persons of Distinction. His Army was composed of above a thousand Horse, two Regiments of *Switzers*, and about 3000 *French Foot*. Pope Sixtus V.

With these Forces he marched into *Norman-* XV. *dy*, having two Ends in view, *viz.* to encourage and strengthen his Party in that Province; and to draw out, if possible, part of the Forces of the Enemy, that being divided they should be less able to attempt any thing upon the Places which he had lately taken, such as *Estampes*, *Pontoise*, *Meulans*, *Senlis* and others near *Paris*, and give time to the Inhabitants thereof to repair the Breaches and fortify themselves the best they could. He succeeded in both as well as he could expect, for being arrived at *St. Peter's Bridge*, Captain *Roulet* Commander of *Pont de l'Arche* brought him the Keys of the Place, and assured him of the Obedience and Fealty of the Inhabitants, as well as of his own; he was confirmed in his Government, that Place was a great Annoyance to *Rouën*, being only five small Leagues distant, and stopt the Correspondence between that City and *Paris*. From *St. Peters* his Majesty marched to *Dernetal* a League distant from *Rouën*, to refresh his Army; the next Day he set out on a sudden with only 3 or 400 Horse, and came to *Dieppe*, which stood well affected to his Party. He was received there with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Respect possible, being encouraged

Henry IV. to it by *La Cbaste* their own Governour; there
 1589. he received the Submissions and Assurances of
Pope Six- Loyalty of *Verune* Governour of *Cain* in his
tus V. own and the City's Name.

XVI. One Thing perplexed the King at this Time,
Cardinal to wit his Uncle the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, tho'
of Bour- he was guarded at *Chinon* under the Care of
bon is the Lord *Chavigny* who had been intrusted
transferr'd with him by the late King, tho' his Majesty
to Fonte- was well satisfied as to that Gentleman's Ho-
pay. nesty and Fidelity; but he was very old and
 blind, and his Lady was not of proof against
 a round Sum of Money; he knew that she had
 been tryed that way by the Leaguers, espe-
 cially since they had proclaimed the said Car-
 dinal King of *France*, to engage her to deli-
 ver him into their hands. These Things caused
 great Anxieties to the King, there was but one
 Way to be rid of them, which indeed he took,
 and *Du Plessis* treated by his Orders with the
 Lady *Chavigny* with such Success, that her
 Husband delivered that Prince, with her Con-
 sent into his Hands, for 22000 Crowns, he
 carried him in his Litter to *Loudun*, being at-
 tended by 3 or 400 Horse, and delivered him
 to the Lord *La Boulaye* who brought him to
Fontenay, whereof he was Governour, where
 he died a few Months after (b).

XVII. While the King was at *Dieppe*, the Inhabi-
The King tants propos'd to him the Siege of *Rouën*, and
seigns to offer'd to bear the greatest part of the Expence
besiege necessary for such an Expedition. His Ma-
Rouen. jesty was exceedingly pleas'd with the Propo-
 sition, for tho' he knew very well that his
 Forces would not be sufficient for succeeding
 therein, nevertheless he did not question but
 by such an Attempt he would oblige the Duke
 of

(b) *Vie de Du Plessis*, Liv. i. p. 139, 140, 141.

of *Mayenne* to take the Field for the Relief of *Henry* the Place; however, he thought proper to propose that Expedition in a Council of War, ^{1589.} whereat assisted the Duke of *Montpensier*, the *Marshal of Biron* and other Lords and Captains: there he proposed the Siege of *Rouën*, and pretended to be bent upon that Expedition; his Craft had the desired Success, his chief Confidants believed that he was in earnest, it was suddenly rumour'd in his Army that that Siege was resolv'd on. For five or six days together he acted just as if it was really his Design to attack that Place, he deprived the Inhabitants of all their Mills, his Troops skirmish'd by Divisions with the Enemy to the very Gates of the City, in order to oblige the Inhabitants to call the Duke of *Mayenne* to their Assistance; and in this respect happened what he had foreseen, the Citizens frightned out of their Wits, tho' the Duke of *Aumale* and the Count of *Brisac* were in the City, with a strong Garison of Horse and Foot to defend them, yet they were not satisfied till they were certain that the Duke of *Mayenne* was in full March with his whole Army coming to their Relief.

The King had expected that this Step of his would oblige *Mayenne* to weaken his Forces by sending only the best Part thereof to the Relief of *Rouën*, but when he heard that he was marching with the whole, and that he had been reinforced with the Troops of *Lorraine*, those of *Balagny* Prince and Governour of *Cambray*, and those sent by the Duke of *Parma* Governor of the *Low Countries*, so that he was above 30000 Men Horse and Foot strong, his Majesty was at a stand; but being never wanting to himself, he assembled his Council, and declared unto them what had been his real Design in attacking

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Henry IV. tacking *Rouën*. So it was resolved to retreat, 1589. and to put off that Siege for another Time.

Pope Six- Accordingly he marched with his Army tus V.

He march- from *Dernetal*; in his way he received the es to Ar- Town of *Eu* by Composition, and under- ques. standing that the Duke of *Mayenne* with his

whole Force had already crossed the *Seine*, he sent Orders to the Duke of *Longueville* and Marshal of *Aumont*, to come and join him with their Forces in all haste: then he resolved to go to *Arques*, not far from *Dieppe*, where his Enemies afforded him a fair Opportunity of displaying his Fortitude and Magnanimity, for by his Prudence and Resolution, under the Blessing of God, with a handful of Men, he not only rendered abortive all the Efforts of that great Army, but forced them to a shameful Retreat, having lost about a thousand Men in the several Engagements, several Cannons, part of their Baggage, and left many Prisoners of War; the Loss on the King's side was but inconsiderable, very few Persons of Note either killed or wounded, or taken Prisoners by the treacherous *Lansquenets* (*German Foot*;) who, under a false shew of Surrender to the victorious King, and of a Willingness to serve under him, turned suddenly their Arms against him, were with Difficulty dislodged from the Retrenchments, and carried away three of the King's Standards, with some Prisoners (j.)

Mayenne's Army oversted.

XVIII.
The King
marches
towards
Paris.

His Majesty having stay'd in *Low Norman- dy* about two Months and a half, trying in vain every way to provoke the Enemy to come to a decisive Battle, and having received 4000 *English* sent to him by Queen *Elizabeth*, who landed at *Dieppe*, with a good Sum of Money, and

(j) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 12—16. Mem. de la Ligue Toip. IV. p. 53—79.

and a Quantity of Ammunition, which the Earl ^{Henry IV.} *Stafford* brought into the Camp; marched ^{1589.} out of *Dieppe*, on the 21st of *October*, having ^{Pope Sixtus V.} been joined before by the Forces which the Count of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Marshal of *Aumont* led to his Relief, retook the Town of *Eu*, and took the Castle of *Gamache* in the Enemy's fight. And understanding that *Mayenne* was going to the Frontiers to treat with the Duke of *Parma*, for delivering unto him some Places in *Picardy* in hostage, in order to deter him from so pernicious a Design, he resolved to attack *Paris*. Accordingly he crossed the *Seine* at *Meulans*, and having divided his Army in three Parts, the Suburbs of *St. Victor*, *St. Marceau*, *St. James*, *St. Michel*, *St. Germain*, the Gates of *Bussy* and *Nigelles*, ^{And storms the Suburbs thereof.} were carried by Storm in an Hour's time on the 1st of *November*; the assailed lost near 1300 Men in that Attack, killed on the Spot, besides a great number of Prisoners, amongst whom was found Father *Edmund Burgoin* Prior of the *Dominican Fryars* clad in Armour, who was convicted of having applauded in his Sermons the Regicide perpetrated by *James Clement*. (He was carried to *Tours*, tryed there by the Parliament, condemned and executed.) The *Parisians* were so much frightned, that the King would have been Master of the City at that time, had his Orders been executed, and the Cannon been levelled against the Gates before they had retrenched themselves, but for want of proper Diligence, the Inhabitants had time enough to recover from their Fright, and *Thoré* who was at *Senlis* sick a-bed, not having been able to oppose the Duke of *Mayenne's* Passage over the *Oyse*, that Prince, who at the first notice he had had of the King's Design, was come by long

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Henry IV. long Marches to relieve the City, entered into it
 1589. by another side which was not guarded; the
 Pope Six- next Day after the taking of the said Suburbs.
 tus V.

The Plunder was given to the Soldiers, how-
 ever, with strict Orders to spare the Churches;
 they carried away fourteen Ensigns, and thirteen
 Cannon.

*He de-
 camps.*

The King seeing that he could not take the
 City without ruining it, which he was unwill-
 ing to do, gave Orders for decamping, he
 drew up his Army in Battalia before the City
 waiting for the Enemy's coming out; but
 whereas no body appeared, he marched about
 Mid-day of the 3d of *November* to *Mont-le-
 bery*.

XIX. The Council of SIXTEEN and their Adhe-
Great In- rents at *Paris* revenged the Fright they had
justice of been put in, upon the Innocent; for by their
the Lea- Decree of the 20th of *November*, they order'd
guers at a new Search to be made in the Houses of those
Paris. whom they suspected to be Hereticks or Po-
 liticians, and forfeited their Goods for indemni-
 fying the Families of those who had been killed
 or plundered, and redeeming the Prisoners (i).

That Assault was so much the more choak-
 ing for the poor Fools of *Paris*, that they had
 been given to understand that the BEAR-
 NESE had been taken Prisoner at *Arques*,
 and was to be carried loaded with Irons, his
 Hands tied behind his Back to serve for a shew
 at the Duke of *Mayenne's* publick Entry. Nay,
 the Dowager of *Montpensier*, was so zealous in
 promoting Falshoods, that in order to make the
 People believe that the Duke of *Mayenne* had
 got a compleat Victory over the King, she added
 eleven pair of Colours and six Cornets which
 were brought from the Arsenal to the three
 that

(i) Thuan. *ibid.* Mem. de la Ligue, *ibid.*

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that had been taken by stealth by the *Lansquenets* Henry IV. as above said, and caused the Pulpits to resound with big Encomiums of *Mayenne*; whereby the People being seduced, a vast number of both Sexes hired Houses and Windows in all Places whereby they imagined the POOR BEAR-NESE was to pass, to see the Show (*). 1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

From *Mont-le-bery* the King marched to XX. *Eftampes*, where *Clermont de Lodeve* commanded *The King* for the League; at the first Assault he carried *receives at* the Suburbs, then the City which was forsook *Eftampes* by the Garison, who retired into the Citadel. It *the Queen* appeared by intercepted Letters that the Duke *Dowager's* of *Mayenne* had promised *Clermont* to come to his Relief; the King was in hopes that he would be as good as his word, but after two Days of vain Expectation, *Clermont* was forced to surrender by Composition, he and seven others remained Prisoners of War, to be exchanged for eight Royalists which were in the Enemy's hands, nevertheless a few Days after that Gentleman and another were released upon their *Pa- role*; it was the third time that *Eftampes* had been taken and retaken since the Month of *July*. While his Majesty stayed there, he received a Petition from the Queen Dowager *Louisa*, humbly praying for Justice against the late King her Husband's Murderers or their Abettors. The King answered very favourably, and referred the Petition to the Cognizance of the Parliament sitting at *Tours*, promising to bring the Guilty to a condign Punishment not only with the Forms of Law, but also with the Force of his Arms.

Now seeing the Enemy stood inactive every *He divides* where in those Parts, he divided his Troops, *his Army,* and *mar-* Part whereof he sent into *Picardy*, under the *ches to-* Command *Loire.* *wards the*

(* Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 17, 18.

Henry IV. Command of the Duke of *Longueville* and *La*
 1589. *Nouë* to keep that Province in awe. He sent
 Pope Six- another into *Brie* under the Command of *An-*
 tus V. *nas of Anglure* Lord of *Givri*; and marched
 himself with the rest to the *Loire*, to settle the
 Affairs of the Provinces laying upon the Banks
 of that River; he took in his way *Janville*,
 and arrived at *Chateaudun*, where he was met
 by the Colonels of the *Switzers*, who after the
 late King's Death had sent some of their Cap-
 tains to their respective Cantons, to receive
 their Instructions upon this Turn of Affairs.

XXI. They told his Majesty that their Principals
The Switz were resolved to observe the Treaties made
Cantons with his Predecessor, and had commanded that
promise their Troops which were in his Army should
him then continue in his Service; and that they desired
Assistance. to renew with him the Treaties of Alliance for-
 merly made with the Kings of *France* his Prede-
 cessors of blessed Memory, which was readily
 granted (1).

XXII. On the 14th of *November* the King marched
Vendome out from *Chateaudun*, and being arrived at *Mel-*
stormed. *lay*, he caused *Vendome* to be surrounded with
 his Troops; the first Day the Suburbs were
 carried. *Maillé Benebart* had been made Go-
 vernour thereof by the King himself, but be-
 traying his Master, he sided with the League,
 and the Place having been forced, he and a
Franciscan Fryar Trumpeter of Sedition and
 Rebellion, received the Punishment they so
 justly deserved, the Fryar was hanged, and
 the Governor beheaded by the Marshal of *Bi-*
ron's Orders. It is observable, that when the
 said Governor was brought before *Biron* he be-
 haved himself like a Coward, and was in such
 a fright that he b——t himself, and with great
 ado

(1) Thuan. *ibid.* p. 27.

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 29

ado could he be led to the Place of Execution. Henry IV. These few Instances of Severity had a very ^{1589.} great Influence over the neighbouring Towns, ^{Pope Sixtus V.} who surrendered themselves without waiting for the last Extremity (m).

Whereas *Mellay* is but twelve Leagues distant from *Tours*, he went thither and arrived very late in the Night; he entered the City by the Light of Flambeaux, and was received with the loudest Acclamations of Joy, the Houses being illuminated, he spent the remaining part of the Night with his Cousin the Cardinal of *Vendosme*, and the Cardinal of *Lenoncour*; the next Day he received the Compliments of the Parliament, and those of *Mocenigo*, Ambassador of *Venice*. XXIII. *The King comes to Tours.*

That Republick had been in a great Consternation when they heard the late King had been murdered; nay, *Thuanus*, who was then at *Venice*, says that the Indignation and Hatred against the *Dominican Fryars* was carried so far, that some young Noblemen having met in the Evening two of them wandering in the Streets, they fell upon them furiously, beat one unmercifully, and flung the other into the great Channel, where he was in Danger of being drowned. The next Morning the good Fathers brought their Complaints before the Senate, but the wise Senators told them, that it was very unbecoming their Profession, to be wandering through the Streets in the Night, instead of being intent upon their chief Business at home; besides which, it was almost impossible in a free City, full of People of all Nations, to repress the Insults done at such Hours, and so they were dismissed with Scorn. XXIV. *The Republick of Venice acknowledges his Title.*

Their Sorrows were changed into Joy when they heard that the King of *Navarre* had been acknowledged

(m) Idem ibid. p. 30.

Henry IV. acknowledged as lawful Succesor to the Crown, by the Princes, Lords, and Chief Officers of the Army, and had been proclaimed King of France by them and the whole Army; and they scrupled not to acknowledge him in the same Quality, notwithstanding the strong Oppositions of the *Emperor's*, *Spanish*, *Savoy* Embassadors, and of the *Pope's* Legate; this last threatned the Senate with the *Pope's* Censures if they scorned his Admonitions, and had any thing to do with the *Navarrese*; but he was answered, that, *whereas this was a Matter purely civil, they were in hopes that his Holiness would not take amiss what they did; that it concerned the Republick to keep a good Correspondence with the Crown of France, and seeing that the King of Navarre had been declared the next and lawful Heir thereof; and acknowledged as such even by the Cardinals themselves; who are Counsellors born to the Pope, they could do no less than follow their Example; that as to Religion, they did not meddle with it, it was the Pope's Business, and they earnestly entreated his Holiness to use his best Endeavours to have that Prince better instructed; finally, that if contrary to their Expectation, his Holiness, misconstruing their Proceeding, undertook to deal severely with them; and decree any thing unjust against them, they would be forced to disregard in good earnest those Censures, which they were falsely charged to scorn.* Accordingly they sent new Instructions to their Embassador at *Tours*, and Letters to the King to congratulate his Majesty upon his Accession to the Crown of *France*.

Tho' the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Mantua* could not declare themselves so openly as the Republick of *Venice*, nevertheless they agreed with *Hurault* Lord of *Massay*,
French

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 31

French Ambassador, and *Thuanus*, to assist his Majesty under-hand with Money, and their Recommendations, and to promote his Interest in Italy, especially at the Court of Rome. *Montaigne* met with a very gracious Reception from the King, and now his Majesty was publickly acknowledged by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* of Scotland, the Reformed Cantons of Switzerland, part of the others, most of the Protestant Princes of Germany, the Republick of Venice, and under-hand by the most potent Princes of Italy (n).

While the King was victorious over his Enemies wherever he carried his Arms, the Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion raged in several Places where the League got the upper hand, especially at *Toulouse*. The Bishop of *Cominges*, who for his Crimes was become the Object of the Scorn and Hatred of every sober Man, provoked at a Decree of the Parliament of that City, whereby the Marshal of *Joyeuse* was acknowledged as Governor-General of *Toulouse* and of *Languedoc*, commanding every one of what Rank or Quality soever to obey his Orders, and forbidding to keep any Correspondence with Spain; provoked, I say, at this, being conscious of his Guilt, after having dissembled for a time, he entered the City on the 1st of *October*, and caused a Fryar to come up into the Pulpit, who preached the most seditious Sermon that could be heard, cursing the King and all those who had any thought of pacifying the Troubles of the Kingdom; then he came out clad in Armour and a naked Sword in his Hand, preceded by the said Friar, holding a Crucifix in one of his Hands and swinging a naked Sword with the other, and followed by four

Henry IV.
1589.
Pope Sixtus V.

XXV.
Tumults at
Toulouse.

(n) *Thuan.* *ibid.* p. 27, 28, 29, & 30.

Henry IV. four other Monks, and about fifty Men of the
 1589. Dregs of the People; so running thro' the
 Pope Six- City, the Bells ringing by his Orders in all the
 tus V. Churches for alarming the People, and indu-
 cing them to rise in Arms, causing a Rumour
 to be spread that the Marshal of *Joyeuse* had
 plotted with the *Huguenots* to introduce them
 into the City, and abolish the Religion of their
 Ancestors; this he had written in large Letters
 upon a Paper which he held in his Hand lifted
 up, that every one might read it. Being come
 to the Town-House, the Fryar knocked at the
 Gate with his Crucifix, and commanded to open
 it. In the mean while *Joyeuse* with the Chiefs
 of the City retired into *St. Stephen's* Church.
 The next Day the Parliament met him at the
 same Place, to consult together about the means
 for appeasing that Sedition. The Bishop in-
 formed of this, assembled his Adherents in the
 Church of *La Dalbade*, and with about 600
 armed Men, the Bell ringing every where, he
 marched to *St. Stephen's*, threatening to plunder
 and burn the Houses of all those who were sus-
 pected, if *Joyeuse* did not depart the City with-
 out any delay. Those who were with that
 Marshal were so frightened, that they advised
 him to yield to the Violence, and retire from
 the City for a time; the first President and some
 eminent Counsellors and Citizens followed him.
 Now the Seditious puffed up with that Ad-
 vantage, the Fryar went on, and made with the
 Bishop a Procession, being attended by several
 Priests, and especially the Jesuits, and 200
 Men of the Rascality, armed with Swords and
 in Armour, the Fryar turning his Face on one
 side, and on the other, said, *Now will there be*
any who shall refuse to enlist themselves in this
Holy Militia? if there is any, I give you leave

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to go and kill him in his own House. After Henry IV. having wandered for a long while in the Streets, ^{1589.} some of them went to the Archbishop's Palace, ^{Pope Sixtus V.} where Joyeuse had lodged, and plundered it, sparing not the Houses of his Adherents; then they returned to the Bishop of Cominge's House, he sprinkled the Walls thereof, with what they call, Holy Water, he cursed the King. And gave thanks to God for that he had freed the City from the Plague of Huguenots and Joyeuse's Efforts. That Marshal provoked at so great an Injury, summoned the Nobility and Gentry of the Province to come to his Assistance, as the factious saw him fully resolved to chastise their Insolence, and being afraid lest the Royalists should take occasion of their Rebellion to increase their Forces in *Languedoc*, they sent some Deputies to him in the Parliament's Name, for treating of some Agreement. But the Marshal insisting that the Bishop (whom he stiled ANTICHRIST) with his Emissaries should be put into his hands, that he himself should be received in the City with a strong Garrison, that the President, Counsellors and others who had followed him, should be restored to their Goods and Dignities, these Terms were thought too hard by the Seditious, and the Affair was left dormant for a time (o).

A like Sedition happened at *Limoges*, Capital of the *Limosine*, at the Instigation of Henry ^{Sedition at} *La Martoniere* Bishop of the City, but was ^{Limoges.} happily suppressed by the Prudence of *Mery de Vic* Master of the Requests, and the Courage of the young Lord *De Levi* Count of *La Voute*, Governor of the Place. Some of the Ring-leaders being taken; were executed before the Governor's House; the Bishop with some of

(o) Thuan. Lib. xcviij. p. 20.

Henry IV. his Adherents ran away, and that part of the Town called the City, where stood the Episcopal Palace, parted from the other by the River *Vienne*, opened its Gates to the Victorious; the Names of several Inhabitants thereof suspected to be Accomplices were sent to the King, and redeemed themselves by paying a large Sum of Money, whereof his Majesty stood in great need (p).

XXVII. Since the King's Accession to the Crown, the Condition of the Reformed had been worse, it seems, than under the four or five last Months of the late King's Reign; they had flattered themselves, that the Truce which they had made with him would end in a solid and lasting Peace, wherefrom they expected to reap great Advantages for their Religion. Now they saw themselves frustrated of their Hopes, being ill used every where, and on pretence, that the King had promised not to advance any of them to Places of Profit or Trust for six Months time, except in the Cities or Towns granted to them by the Truce or other precedent Treaties, they were not only excluded from any Advancement, but even deprived of the Offices which they had enjoyed under the late King, and had many other Wrongs to suffer. Besides that, they had flattered themselves that the present King would be steadfast in their Religion, but instead of that, they saw him carrying very high his Complaisance to the Catholicks; and what increased their Fears and Jealousies, was these Words, in the Declaration published at his Accession to the Crown, *The late King, WHOM GOD ABSOLVE*, which had been designedly let slip in the Copies; they knew that it was the customary Language of the

(p) Idem ibid. p. 22.

the Roman Church, when they spoke of *dead* Henry IV. *Persons*, and they took them as a Token of a Resolution already taken by the King to embrace the Doctrine of that Church, or at least as a Mark of little Zeal and Affection for the Reformed Religion. These Fears and Jealousies were industriously kept up by the Leaguers themselves, in order to alienate the Reformed from the King's Service, and to form, if possible, a new Party in the State. These unhappy Dispositions were sooner display'd in the Provinces of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*, than elsewhere; they held an Assembly at *St. John of Angely*, where under a Pretence that it was uncertain whether the King would persevere in his Religion, or no, they proposed to choose a new Protector. That Proposition was but a Consequence of those Intrigues which had caused so great Heats in the Assembly held at *Rochele* the last Year, mentioned in our former Volume, when some restless Spirits complaining of the Authority which the King of *Navarre* ascribed to himself in the Management of Affairs, would have deprived him of that Power which his Character of Protector gave him, or at least limited it within the Compass of those rigorous Conditions framed at first at *Realmont*, then amplified at *Millaud*, and confirmed at *Nimes*. For they did not intend to impose a Master upon themselves when they chose a Protector; for which reason very likely, they would have chose rather to bestow that Title upon a Person whom they had a mind to honour, than upon a Prince who seeing no body but the King above himself, would think all other Titles inferiour to his own Dignity. *Henry III.* being dead, they had, it seems, more reason than ever to entertain these Thoughts

1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

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Henry IV. in their Minds, because his lawful Heir and
^{1589.} Successor was thenceforward too great, not to
Popu Six- adjudge the Title of *Protector* of the Reformed
tus V. Churches as derogating from that of King of
France. Another Reason of their Discontent
 was the Talk of suppressing the Chambers of
 Justice, to please the Parliaments; they had
 been instituted formerly for the Security of the
 Reformed, and they were mostly composed of
 Reformed Members, who took cognizance of
 all civil and criminal Affairs wherein the Re-
 formed were concerned instead of which, Cham-
 bers, Judges Royal were to be appointed; which
 Resolution indeed took place the next
 Year, to the great detriment of that Party. Be-
 sides that, *Mafs* had been already restored in
 several Places contrary to the plain meaning of
 the Articles of the Truce. In a word, they
 gave out that the King valued not the *Protec-*
torship, seeing that he had done nothing for
 them since his Accession to the Crown, and
 very likely they would have carried things to
 extremes, had they been able to bring over the
 Reformed of other Provinces to their Measures.

The King was not a little perplexed when he
 was thoroughly informed of what they were
 transacting at *St. John*, he complained bitterly
 thereof, in a long Letter written with his own
 Hand to *Du Plessis Mornay*, dated at his Camp
 before *Estampes* on the 7th of *November*; he
 charged therein some hot-headed Men, which
 he pretended not to know, with endeavouring
 to advance their own private Interest under a
 shew of a pretended Zeal for Religion and the
 Security of the Churches; he reminded them of
 some sly Practices at the last Assembly at *Ro-*
chelle, which had been as it were the Seeds of
 this new Attempt; he related what had passed
 between him and the Officers of the late King, in
 order

order to remove the Scruples of Religion, that ^{Henry IV.} hindered them from declaring for his Service, ^{1589.} wherein he affirmed he had done nothing but ^{Pope Sixtus V.} with the Advice and Consent of *Châtillon, La Nouë, Beauvais, La Nocle, Guitry,* and other Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion, that were then present; he assured them that he had with his own Hand blotted out of the Original of the Declaration he had signed to the Catholicks, these Words, *whom God absolve*, and it was none of his Fault if the Transcriber or the Printer had inserted them again in the printed Copies. He ascribed their Complaints to the Suggestions of some Mutineers, adding that they who boasted so much of having exposed their Lives, and their Fortunes for him, were now the very Men that endeavoured to divest him of that Title which they had conferred upon him; he assured them of his Constancy as to Religion, excusing what he had done by the Necessity of Times which obliged him to do many things in order to lessen the Jealousies and Fears, which the Catholicks had conceived on his account; he complained modestly of the Desertion of many Reformed; he ended his Letter with a sharp Reproof against those, who thro' their Impatience went about to rob him of his Reformed Subjects, who ought to be his by a double Acquisition, whom he tender'd with a paternal Love, and whose Preservation could not possibly be so dear to any other Person as to himself.

That Letter, so tempered with Complaints, Excuses, Protestations and Expressions of a tender Love and Affection, helped much together with *Du Plessis'* strong Arguments, for expressing the Impetuosity of the Male-

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Henay IV. contents, and the Reformed became thereby
^{1589.} more easy, and endured more patiently the tedious
Pope Six- Delays of the Court. It is certain that
tus V. the King being not as yet settled upon his
 Throne was not at all in a Condition to do now
 for his Reformed Subjects what he did afterwards,
 when his Title and Authority were fully
 acknowledged throughout his Kingdom. Nay,
 he could do less for them at this present Juncture,
 than when he was but King of *Navarre* (q).

XXVIII. During these Transactions Cardinal *Cajetan*,
The Pope's the Pope's Legate arrived in *France*; tho' the
Legate Pope had been desired by the Duke of *Piney*
arrives in not to send his Legate till he was himself arrived
France. at *Rome*, where he was to go without delay in
 the Name of the Catholick Nobility, as above-
 said, to inform his Holiness of the Reasons
 which had moved them to acknowledge the
 King, tho' he had at first granted their Request;
 nevertheless, yielding to the Importunities of
 the Leaguers, he gave leave to the said Cardinal
 to set out. The Pope had named him as the fittest
 Man as he thought for that Legation, taking
 him to be a moderate and impartial Man;
 but he was much deceived in his Expectation:
 far from acting the part of a Mediator, and of
 endeavouring to reconcile the two Parties together,
Cajetan became as great a Leaguer as
 any Man in *France*. When he was arrived at
Lyons, the Duke of *Nevers*, who had remained
 neuter, invited him to come to *Nevers*, that
 he might confer with him and inform him of
 the true Situation of Affairs. But at the In-
 stigation of his bad Counsellors he refused that
 Offer, and went to *Dijon*, from whence he pro-
 ceeded to *Paris*, where he made his publick En-
 try in *January* following. His Credentials were
 read

read in Parliament on the 26th of that Month; ^{Henry IV} and the 6th of *February* he came himself to the ^{1589.} Parliament with great Pomp, and carried his ^{Pope Sixtus V.} Audaciousness so far as to attempt to sit upon the King's Throne; but the first President *Brissson* took him by the Sleeve, and obliged him to take his place below himself. In a word, he shew'd himself so partial for the King of *Spain*, he had so little regard for the Instructions the Pope had charged him with, that his Master was extremely offended at his Carriage, especially when he had been thoroughly informed by the Duke of *Piney* how matters stood in *France*; he reproved him sharply by his Letters, for not having conferred with the Cardinals of *Vendome* and *Lenoncour* who were of the King's Party, and for shewing himself so unjustly partial, and very likely it would have fared much worse with him, had not *Sixtus* died a little after (r).

The King stayed but two Days at *Tours*, he ^{XXIX.} came to his Army which was besieging *Le Mans*, ^{The King's} *Laval* of *Bois Dauphine* who command- ^{Progrès.} ed therein made but little Resistance, tho' he had with him above 1500 Men, the Place was surrendered by Composition on the 2d of *December*. In a word, the League could preserve nothing else in the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, but the Town of *La Ferté-Bernard*, which the King did not think proper to attack, because it was very important for him to employ his Forces in *Normandy* to reduce that Province; he received *Alençon* by Capitulation, *Falaise* was carried by storm on the 8th of *January*, the Count of *Brissac* who commanded therein was taken Prisoner of War. ^{1590.} *Verneuil* capitulated, *Argentan*, *Domfront*,

D 4

Lisieux,

(r) Thuan. Lib. xcvi. p. 25, 32. Lib. xcvi. p. 44, 46, 62.

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Henry IV. *Lisieux, Bayeux, Honfleur, Pont Audemar,*
^{1590.} either capitulated, or surrendered themselves
Pope Six- without waiting for a Siege. The Country of
tus V. *Percbe* surrendered to the Count of *Soissons*;
 such were the Successes wherewith his Majesty's
 Arms were attended in *January*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the Field,
 and after six days Siege he took *Pontoise*; then
 he besieged *Meulans*, but was forced to raise
 the Siege by the King who made a Diverfion,
 and attacked *Poissy*, which he took by storm;
 the Duke of *Aumale* was killed, *Mayenne* lost
 most part of his Baggage and of his Ammuni-
 tion, having been pursued by those of *Meulan*
 who fell furiously upon his Rear. Then he
 besieged again the same Place, but with no
 better Success.

XXX.
His Poli-
ticks.

The Sor-
bonne's
Proceed-
ings a-
gainst him.

Now because the King published every
 where that he required a Conference of Di-
 vines wherein he might be better instructed,
 that Step cooled apace the Zeal of several Lea-
 guers, nay, some Preachers went so far as to
 speak in his behalf. For preventing the Ef-
 fects wherewith such Discourses might be at-
 tended, the SORBONNE published a Decree on
 the 10th of *February*, whereby they condemn-
 ed the following Propositions, *That it was law-*
ful to agree with the BERNESSE; to acknow-
ledge him if he would turn Catholick; and to
pay unto him Taxes and Subsidies. The Legate
 wrote likewise a circular Letter dated the 1st of
March, to all the Bishops, forbidding them to
 meet at any Place for that purpose, (*the King's*
Instruction) moreover he obliged the Provost of
 the Merchants, the Sheriffs, Quartners, Tith-
 ing-Men and Captains of the Wards to renew
 the Oath to persevere in the Holy Union to
 the latter End of their Lives.

The

The *Spanish* Embassador, who had proposed in *Novembr* last to acknowledge his Master as Protector of the holy Union and of the Kingdom of *France*, and been put by for that time, did not desist, but renewed the same Proposition with no better Success. He offered a powerful Succour to the Duke of *Mayenne*; but that Prince, who would readily have accepted of it at the Beginning, dreading now the Consequences thereof, let the Embassador know that five or six thousand Men were sufficient for the present, and that he would be glad to have the rest in Money.

Henry IV.

1590.
Pope Sixtus V.

XXXI.

Spain's
Endea-
vours to
obstru& the
King.

While their Agents were debating upon that Point, the said *Duke* went to meet the Duke of *Parma*, who granted him two thousand Horse under the Command of the Count of *Egmont*, a young Lord who began to appear in the World with some Reputation, but who was still more rash than valiant.

With that Reinforcement having no less than 4000 Horse, and 10000 Foot, *Mayenne* marched to relieve *Dreux* which was besieged by the King; but his Majesty being informed of his March, raised the Siege, and marched with his whole Army, (much inferiour to *Mayenne's* as to the Number, but much superiour as to Courage and Experience.) The two Armies were in sight of one another by the 13th of *March*, in the Plain of *Yvri*, and on the 14th in the Morning the Battle began.

XXXII.
Battle of
Yvri.

We find in the Historians a full Description of the Field of Battle, in what Order the two Armies were disposed, the several Charges of Battalions and Squadrons of the two Parties, the Errors committed by the Chiefs of the League. So that we shall give a short account only of what concerns the King personally.

His

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Henry IV. His rare Understanding, his extraordinary
 1590. Genius, his indefatigable Activity were ad-
 Pope Six- mired by the most experienced Officers; he
 tus V. gave his Orders and disposed of every thing
 with the same Calmness, as if he had been in his
 Closet; he drew up his Troops perfectly well,
 and having known the Design of the Enemy, he
 altered his Scheme in a quarter of an hour,
 without the least Confusion; during the Battle
 he was every where, took notice of every
 thing, and gave his Orders accordingly, as if
 he had been an *Argus* or a *Briareus*; the
 Noise, Hindrances, Dust, and Smoke, far from
 clogging him, rather raised his Spirits, inlighten-
 ed his Understanding, and enlivened all his
 Motions.

The two Armies being in fight and ready to
 engage, he lifted up his Eyes and joining his
 Hands, he called God to witness of his In-
 tentions, he implored his Assistance, beseech-
 ing him to bring the Rebels to the Acknow-
 ledgment of him who was their Lawful So-
 vereign. *But, O Lord, says he, if thou hast
 been pleased to dispose otherwise of the Crown, or
 if thou seest in thine infinite Wisdom, that I
 should be one of those Kings whom thou givest in
 thy Wrath, take away my Life with my Crown;
 let me be this day the Victim of thy most holy De-
 crees, let this Kingdom be delivered by my Death
 from the dreadful Calamities of the War, and
 let my own Blood be the last that shall be shed for
 this CAUSE.*

Having done praying, he took his Head-
 Piece, whereupon was a Bunch of three white
 Feathers, and before he had let down the Vi-
 sor, he spoke to his Squadron as follows:
 COMPANIONS, *if you share this day my Destiny,
 I will share yours likewise; I will conquer or die
 with*

with you; stand fast in your Ranks, I beg of you; Henry IV.
 if thro' the Heat of the Engagement, you come 1590.
 out of them, don't forget to rally without Delay, Pope Six-
 that is the getting of the Day. You shall rally tus V.
 at those three Trees (PEAR-TREES) which you
 see before at your Right Hand; if you lose your
 Standards and Colours, don't lose the sight of my
 white Feathers, you shall meet them always in
 the Career of Honour and Victory.

After the Victory had been in suspense for a Time, at last it turned on his side. The principal Glory there of was intirely owing, after God, to his good Conduct. Above a thousand Horse were slain with the Count of Egmont; 400 Prisoners of Note were taken, and the whole Infantry; the German Foot (*Lansquenets*) were all cut in pieces, the *Switzers* all disarmed, and not above 4000 Men of the whole Army could escape by flight; all the Baggage, Artillery, Colours and Standards were taken.

The Duke of *Mayenne* behaved himself with great Bravery, and endeavoured many times to rally; but finally, fearing lest he should be surrounded, he retired to the Bridge of *Yvri*, crossed it, and having caused it to be broken, he went to *Mantes*, from thence to *St. Dennis*, and then to *Paris*; part of the Runners away followed him, another part went to *Chartres*.

The King having rushed into a Squadron of *Walloons*, was in so great danger, that his Army took him for lost for a while. Whereupon the Marshal of *Biron*, used to speak freely to him, and who had not engaged, but was by his Majesty's Orders at the Head of a Body of Reserve, to hinder the Enemy from rallying, told him, *Ab! Sir, that is not just, you have done this day what Biron ought to do, and*
 Biron

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Henry IV. *Biron has done what the King ought to do.*

1590. Which Remonstrance was approved by all those
Pope Six- that heard it, and the Generals besought his
tus V. Majesty not to expose his Person in that man-
ner, and to consider that God had not called him
to be a *Carabineer*, but to be a King of *France*;
that all the Arms of his Subjects ought to fight
for him, but that they would become useless,
were they once deprived of their Head, which
put them all in motion.

He was no less remarkable for his Clemency,
Generosity and Civility, than for his great Cou-
rage; and the use he made of his Victory was
a strong Argument that he was beholden for it
rather to his wise Conduct than to Fortune.
He chose to receive by Composition the Bat-
talions of the *Switzers*, rather than to cut them
in pieces, as he could have done very easily;
he restored unto them their Colours, and dis-
missed them under a Safe-Guard into their own
Country, whereby he gained the Friendship of
the five small Catholick Cantons. He was so
tender towards his Subjects, tho' armed against
him, that when the Enemy was pursued after
they had been broken, he was crying aloud,
Spare the Frenchmen, but give the Foreigners no
quarter. In the Evening before the Battle Co-
lonel *Tische* had been forced by the Clamours
of the *Switzers* to come to him and ask for
their Pay, or else they refused to fight.
The King highly offended at it, told him,
How so, Colonel Tische, is it an Action becoming
a Man of Honour, to ask Money when he should
receive his Orders for fighting? The Colonel
went away quite confounded at that Answer.
But the next Morning, the King remembring
what he had said, went to meet the Colonel,
and told him, *Colonel, we are going to engage,*

I don't know whether I shall be killed or not ; it is not just that I should carry along with me the good Name of such a brave Gentleman as you are ; therefore I do declare that I hold you for a Man of Honour and Probity, incapable of doing any thing base. The Colonel was extremely moved at this the King's Generosity, and returned a suitable Answer to his Majesty.

Henry IV.
1590.
Pope Six-
tus V.

After the Battle he went to *Rosny*, where he supp'd ; while he was at Table, he was told that the Marshal of *Aumont* was come to give him an Account of what he had done ; immediately he rose up and went to meet him, and having embraced him, he invited him to sup with him and obliged him to sit at the same Table, telling him, *that it was but reasonable that he should partake of the Feast, seeing that he had so well served him at his Wedding.*

The Confectionation was general at *Paris* after that Loss, and had the King marched, without delay, to that Capital, he would certainly have been received in it without much ado. But the Marshal of *Biron* and the Super-Intendant *D'O* were against it, both for their own private Interest, tho' their Views were different.

Consequen-
ces there-
of.

The Dowager of *Montpensier* who used to impose upon the People by false News, could not devise any better means for colouring this Loss than by telling them, that indeed the Duke of *Mayenne* had lost the Day, but that the *Bearnese* had been slain. The foolish People believed that Piece of News for five or six Days together, which was enough to recover them from their Fright (s).

(s) Prefixe Hist. de *Henry IV.* p. 146—154.

Henry IV. The very same Day of the Battle of *Jvri*,
 1590. the Royalists got another great Advantage
Pape Six- over the Leaguers in *Auvergne*, the Count
tus V. of *Rendan* was routed near *Iffoire* by the
 Iffoire in Counts of *Curton*, *Rossignac* and *Chazeron*;
Auvergne he lost 2000 Men slain on the Field, and
taken by the the broken Remnants of his Army were
Royalists. massacred by the Peasants, he himself was
 taken Prisoner and died of his Wounds.

XXXIII. The King having sojourned some Days at
The King's *Mantes*; took the field again; *Lagny*, *Pro-*
Progress. *wins*, *Monterau*, *Melun* and *Vernon* experi-
 enced his Clemency, or his Justice; being
 forced to yield to his victorious Arms.

XXXIV. The Duke of *Mayenne*, in order to stop
 Mayenne these Progresses, amused the King with the
seigns to be Shadow of a Treaty wherein *Villeroy* on
willing to *Mayenne's* side; and *Du Plessis* on the King's;
come to A- were employed. *Villeroy* pretended that his
greement. Master was inclined to hearken to an Agree-
 ment, provided he could do it with Safety
 and Honour; whereby he meant the Pre-
 servation of the Catholick Religion and his
 own Safety. *Du Plessis* gave him all the Sa-
 tisfaction he could desire as to these two Points.
 But being gone to give the Duke an Account
 of what he had done, the said Duke declared
 unto him, that he could not proceed any fur-
 ther in that Business without the Advice of
 his Confederates, and desired to have a longer
 time to confer with them.

Before this, and while the King was at
Mantes, Cardinal *Cajetan* had desired to have
 a Conference with the Marshal of *Biron*, who
 with the King's Licence met him at *Noisy*
 with several of the Nobility; there, after
 great Compliments paid reciprocally, the
 Legate seeing that the Face of Affairs was
 quite

quite different from what he had thought at *Rome*, and that the Royalists were fully resolved to defend, with all their Might, the CAUSE of the Kingdom against their common Enemy, he went away quite confounded; and having learned, by Experience, that the Nobility and others nearly concerned in the Affairs of the Kingdom, judged of them very differently from the Cardinals and other idle People, secure against the Danger at *Rome*.

Henry IV.
1590.
Pope Six-
tus V.

A very comical thing happened in this Conference; *Annas of Anglure*, Lord of *Givri*, accompanied the Marshal of *Biron* to *Noisy*, and being strongly solicited to desert the King and take party with the League, whereto to induce him, they extolled to the Skies his great Merit and the great Reputation of his glorious Feats, which would be better acknowledged in the proposed Party, he stood unmoveable. But at last, being told that, as a good Catholick, he ought at least to ask pardon of the Pope and of his Legate for all the mischief he had done heretofore to the *Parisians*, which would be readily granted; he instantly kneeled down before the Legate, craving pardon, with a sad Countenance, and all other outward Signs of a thorough Repentance; the Legate gave him his Blessing, but before he rose up, he required the Legate to absolve him likewise of all the Mischief he intended to do henceforward to the same *Parisians* which should be more than he had yet done, if he could. Whereupon laughing heartily, he went from the Legate's Presence, who revoked the Pardon and Blessing he had just now granted him (t).

(t.) Thuan. lib. 98. p. 61.

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Henry IV. A few days after, *Du Plessis* spoke to the
^{1590.}
Pope Six- King in behalf of the Reformed, and endea-
tus V. voured to obtain a Revocation of the Edicts
 published against them in the last Reign.
 XXXV. But his Majesty, tho' very sensible of the
DuPlessis's Reasonableness of that Petition, was much
Intreaties perplexed about the Ways and Means to grant
in behalf it, therefore he referred him to the Marshall of
of the Re- *Biron* and the Super-Intendant *D'O*. The Mar-
formed. shal saying to *Du Plessis*, that it was impossible
 that two Religions so different from one another
 could ever subsist in the same Kingdom : *How*
so, replies *Du Plessis*, *since you know, by Expe-*
rience, that they do agree mighty well together in
one and the same Bed ? (Lady of *Biron* professed
 openly the Reformed Religion.) Nevertheless,
 for avoiding to give him any Satisfaction, they
 fed the King with the Hopes that *Paris* would
 treat very soon with, him and added, that did
 his Majesty grant that Edict petitioned for, the
 Jealousies against him would be increased there-
 by, and the good Intentions of his faithful Ser-
 vants rendered useless. So that he deferred it
 to a better Time (v).

While the King was at *Corbeil* he received
 a Messenger from the Duke of *Piney*, then at
Rome, whereby he was informed that the Pope
 was much alienated from the League, and had
 refused to send them any Assistance since he had
 been better informed of the true State of the
 Nation. And indeed we find in *Thuanus* a very
 warm expostulatory Letter of the Duke of
Mayenne to his Holiness, wherein he upbraided
 him with Desertion from the Cause of God (u).

XXXVI. His Majesty having secured all the Places
Paris upon the Rivers from whence *Paris* receives
blocked up. its

(v) Vie Du Plessis Mornay, liv. 1. p. 147, 148.

(u) Thuan. lib. 98.

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its Provisions, blocked up intirely that City on ^{Henry IV.} the 9th of *May*. On his way thither he made ^{1590.} a fruitless Attempt on *Sens*; his Intelligence in ^{Pope Six-} that City failed him. ^{tus V.}

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not at *Paris*, having left the Duke of *Nemours* for Governour during his absence, with about 8000 Men as a Garison; he was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma* at *Condé*, to implore his Assistance. He was in the greatest Perplexities, dreading the Loss of *Paris*, for he foresaw that if he introduced the *Spaniards* into it, the SIXTEEN would make use of them for restoring their own Authority, and perhaps for putting that City, in spite of him, under the *Spanish* Yoke. For the SIXTEEN did not at all like him, because he had abolished their Council of FORTY, which restrained his Authority, and had too great Resemblance with the Republican Government, which they had a mind to introduce; he had created another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State, with whom he governed every thing without calling the Sixteen, only when he had occasion for Money. Besides that, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* died just at this Time, on the 9th of *May*, at *Fontenay* the Place of his Confinement (*); he was

(*) *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, was born, one may say, for exposing the Kingdom to the Mockery and Scorn of all Nations; after he had suffered the Duke of *Guise* to abuse his Name for a long time, to the Detriment and Ruin of his Country, and of his own House, he at last drew upon himself all the Mischiefs which he was obliged to undergo, having kindled that bloody War which put the whole Kingdom in combustion for so many Years. He was extremely superstitious; as to the rest, he was liberal and voluptuous, over-credulous, which made him much addicted to Astrologers, whom he consulted oftentimes; having been told one day that he would be King.

Henry IV. was afraid lest that Event should afford the
 1590. *Spaniards* and *Sixteen* a Pretence for demand-
 Pope Six- ing the Creation of a new King, and that he
 tus V. should be obliged to yield to their Importuni-
 ties. And indeed it was the first Condition stipulated by the *Spanish* Agents in the Treaty they concluded with him for sending Forces to his Relief; and he, unwilling to disoblige them, promised that he would summon the General States for that purpose, at *Paris* instead of *Me-lun*, where he had appointed them last Year. In the mean while he intreated his Friends in the Parliament and the Town-House to use their Interest for having him continued in his General Lieutenancy of the State and Crown of *France*; wherein having succeeded, he shewed a great Reluctancy for having the General States,

he was so strongly persuaded thereof, that from that time, he began to alienate himself from his nearest Relations, whom he affected tenderly before. That Conceit of his prompted him to attempt any thing right or wrong, which he thought might be conducive to his future Grandeur; therefore he scrupled not to follow the Duke of *Guise* wherever he thought proper to carry him, and to be his Tool for the Execution of his Designs, having shaken off all Sense of Love for his own Country and Relations; nay, he was not free from Fraud and Deceit, whereby, more than once, he gave the Duke much Trouble. He had had formerly a mind to marry the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, Sister to the Duke of *Guise*, and would have done it, had he been at liberty when he was proclaimed King by the Leaguers, whereby it would have been an easy matter for him to transmit the Crown to her Brethren, if he died without Male Issue. It is very observable that *Sixtus V.* took no manner of notice of him in his Letters to the Parliament of *Paris*, nor in the Instructions given to his Legate. And that no Provision was made for his Maintenance as King by those who had proclaimed him, on pretence that his own Revenues and Benefices were more than sufficient in the present condition he was in; whereat many People were extremely offended. He died of the Stone in the sixty sixth Year of his Age. *Thuan. lib. xcviij. p. 67. lib. xcviij. p. 24, 25, 26.*

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States, and endeavoured with all his might Henry IV. to oppose their Convocation (y). 1590.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Paris being blocked up, the Legate and the Sixteen neglected nothing for encouraging the People. They consulted the *Sorbonne*, who gave them what Resolutions they pleased against him, whom they stiled the *BEARNESE*, they procured several Processions general and particular, amongst others, a very comical one composed of all the Fryars and Monks that lived at *Paris*, the Canon Regulars, Benedictines, and Celestines excepted, all armed over their respective Habits; they made up together a Regiment of 1300 Men. The Legate was curious to see their first Review, and they, in order to do him honour, made a general discharge, whereby his Secretary was killed at his side (z).

At the same time the Duke of *Nemours* took much pains to put the City in a State of Defence, and the Inhabitants being for the most part thoroughly persuaded, that if the King was once in possession of the City, he would certainly abolish the Catholick and establish the Reformed Religion, assented themselves and paid freely whatever Sums were required of them. I shall not insist upon all the Particulars of that memorable Siege, whereby that large and opulent City was upon the point of perishing by Famine, had it not been relieved by the Duke of *Parma*, after near four Months Siege. I shall only make these three or four Observations:

First, When the City was blocked up there were in it only 230000 Inhabitants; about 100000, dreading the threatening Danger, had deserted.

(y) Idem lib. xcvi. Prefixe p. 156, 7, 8.

(z) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 69.

Henry IV. In the Times of Peace that great City was supplied every Week with fresh Provisions, that came in plenty by the Rivers of *Seine*, *Marne*, and *Oyse*. A few private Families foreseeing the Storm, had stored some Provisions for themselves, such as Meal, Flower, Butter, Salt-Pork, Oil, Wine, &c. but their Number was very small in comparison of those who had not taken a like Precaution either through Imprudence, or for want of proper Means. The Chiefs had been so little cautious, that in three Weeks time all the Provisions they had in the publick Magazines were consumed, so that all the Passages of the Rivers from whence they used to receive their Provisions being stopped by the Royalists, they were afflicted with such a dreadful Famine, that the People were forced to feed upon Cats, Dogs, Rats, Grass, wild Roots, nay upon dead Bodies; and by the Invention of *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Embassador, they fed upon Bread made of dry human Bones ground for that purpose, which Food was mortal to every one who made use of it. Above 13000 Persons died with Hunger in less than two Months and a half. All this while the abominable Preachers of the *League* fed the miserable People sometimes with false News of some Advantage or other got by their Party, sometimes with vain Hopes of a speedy Relief from the *Spaniards*. Nay, following the Steps of the *Sorbonists*, they were so desperately wicked, as to thunder from the Pulpit against those who spoke of coming to some Agreement with the *BEARNESE*, not only threatening them with eternal Damnation, but encouraging and exhorting the Heads of the Party to put them to death (a).

Secondly,

(a) Thuanus lib. xcix. p. 77.

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Secondly, Whereas I have mentioned the Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, we here must observe, that the *Parisiens* understanding that Cardinal of *Bourbon* was dangerously sick, consulted those Divines upon these three Points. First, whether *Henry* of *Bourbon* could be acknowledged King of *France* after his Uncle's Death, tho' he should reconcile himself with the *Pope*? Secondly, whether he or they who should sue for Peace with the said *Henry*, or should consent to it, being in a condition to oppose him, ought not to be held for Hereticks or Abettors of Hereticks? Thirdly, whether it was a meritorious thing before God and Men, to oppose the said *Henry* by all means; and in case one should die in that Quarrel, whether he should not be deemed a holy Martyr?

They answered these Queries on the 7th of May, and declared that it was not lawful for any Catholick to acknowledge for their King an Heretick or Abettor of Hereticks, a notorious Enemy of the Church, much less to receive a Relapser who was excommunicated by the *Holy See*; and tho' he could obtain at any time his Absolution, and be reconciled to the Church, yet because there was an evident Danger of his being an Hypocrite, he ought to be excluded for the same Reason, and whoever assists him or suffers him to take possession of the Crown, tho' he has it in his power to oppose him, that Person is justly suspected of Heresy, he is an Enemy to the Church; now *Henry* of *Bourbon* is a Heretick, Abettor of Hereticks, a Relapser excommunicated, &c. *Ergo*. And tho' any lawful Successor to the Crown should happen to die, or yield his Title unto him, he and they who abet him are suspected of Heresy, Enemies to the Church, and as such deserve to be

Henry IV. severely punished. Now as those who abet and assist the said *Henry of Bourbon*, Pretender to the Crown, are Deserters from the true Religion, and actually live in a mortal Sin; so those who by all possible means do oppose his Designs, being moved thereto by a Zeal for Religion, deserve a great deal before God and Men: and as we might very rightly judge that the first persisting obstinately in their Resolution of settling the Kingdom of Satan, are devoted to eternal Damnation; so we may say with good reason, that the others shall be gloriously recompensed in Heaven if they persevere till Death, and as Defenders of the Faith they shall obtain the Crown of Martyrdom (b). Such were in those Days the erroneous Opinions of those great Divines, considered as Rulers of the *Gallican Church*, who ascribed to themselves the Right of determining between Leprosy and Leprosy, as the High-Priest of the *Jews*, and who did not scruple to sell their Honour and Conscience for some *Spanish Pistoles*, and draw the People into a depth of Miseries.

Thirdly, Notwithstanding these Decisions and some others whereby it was forbidden to hold any Correspondence or to treat with *Henry of Bourbon*; the Heads of the *League* were forced two or three times to come to a Parley with the King's Deputies, in order to obtain either a general Peace, or a particular one for the City of *Paris*. True it is, that before they took that Step, they had the Advice of the *Sorbonne* and of the *Legate*; their Queries were, Whether in case of urgent Necessity, such as the present was, there was any sin in treating with *Henry of Bourbon*, for avoiding a greater Mis-

chief

(b) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 68, 69.

chief? Whether the Deputies sent to that ^{Henry I} Prince for working his Conversion, or for bettering the Condition of the Catholick Church, ^{1590.} were obnoxious to the Excommunication fulminated by *Sixtus V*? These Queries were answered in the Negative by these egregious Doctors. So that notwithstanding their former Decision, which was reversed by this; notwithstanding a Declaration of the Parliament of *Paris* on the 15th of *June*, whereby they condemned to death any one, of what Rank or Quality soever, who should talk of compounding upon any Terms with *Henry of Bourbon*; they were very glad to obtain a Pass from his Majesty to confer with his Deputies. At the first time, the Legate himself desired to confer with the Marquis of *Pisany*, come lately from *Rome*; at the second time, the King himself with Chancellor of *Chiverny*, restored of late to that Dignity, and Marshal of *Biron*, came to the Convent of *St. Antony*, and conferred with Cardinal of *Retz* Bishop of *Paris*, and the Archbishop of *Lyons* in the beginning of *August*. And before that, *Villeroy* had had a Conference with *Barbezieres*, Lord of *Ghemeraud*, a Royalist (c).

Fourthly, The King committed three or four gross Errors after the Battle of *Jvri* and during this Siege. 1. Instead of marching directly to *Paris* after the said Battle, he lost so much time (above fifteen days) at *Mantes*. There is no doubt but if he had taken that Course, as he was advised by his faithful Counsellors of the Reformed Religion, and as he himself inclined to, *Paris* would have opened its Gates; so great was the Consternation of the Inhabitants, and the Aclerity of his Partizans in that City. But the

(c) Thuan. lib. xcviij, xcix.

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Henry IV. 1590. Pope Sixtus V. time he spent needlessly at *Mantes*, served to revive the Courage of his Enemies, and to dishearten his Friends, so that he had but an unhappy Success in his Attempt. 2. His Method in besieging that City was very defective, he proposed to himself to take it by Famine, not considering the Character of those who were at the Helm of Affairs; nor of most part of the Inhabitants: well and good if he had tried that Method for six Weeks or two Months; but after that Time, seeing that it was in vain, he ought to have made use of the ordinary means for subduing that rebellious Capital. 3. He was even much defective in that very Method, for instead of keeping the City closely shut up, so that no body could come out, and of forbidding strictly to introduce therein any kind of Provisions, he was the first who consented to the coming of above 4000 useles People out of the City, and suffered his Officers that kept the Passages, and even the Soldiery to introduce Victuals into it, one way or another, for Money or some rich Furniture; whereby the Obstinacy of the rich sort was strengthened, and the Misery of the poor lengthened and increased. 4. But the grossest Error of all was, that he raised the Siege to march with his whole Army against the Duke of *Parma*, who came at last to the Relief of the City after near four Months of Expectation; instead of leaving part of his Troops for continuing the Siege, knowing certainly that the *Parisians* were not then in a Condition to make any Sally, being almost starved to death, and weakned by their long fasting, that they were not able stand.

I know that some Historians, such as *Perefixe*, have taken occasion from this the King's Conduct, to extol his great Clemency, which engaged

engaged him to chuse the mildest Ways for bringing the City to a thorough Acknowledgement of their Rebellion; THAT OPULENT CITY, WHICH HE WAS USED TO CALL HIS ELDEST AND MOST BELOVED DAUGHTER!

Henry IV.
1590.
Pope Six-
tus V.

He would not, that Great King! suffer it to be exposed to be plundered and ransacked by the rapacious Soldiers, especially the Huguenots, who without doubt would have remembered and revenged upon the poor Inhabitants, the PARISIEN MATTINS. What a fine Thing that is! But rather how ridiculous it is to give for the Cause what is not so, and to dissemble the true Motives of Actions, in order to find in them some false Colours for extolling a Hero in whose Conduct we find so many other real Subjects for the highest Encomiums? *Henry IV.* was a clement and merciful Prince, that is true; but *Henry IV.* knew as well as any Man in the World, that to starve an Enemy to death, is a thing more cruel than to put him to the Sword. *Henry IV.* had a tender Regard for his City of *Paris*, that is true; but *Henry IV.* had a like Regard for all the Cities of the Kingdom, and desired above all things to bring them to a just Sense of their Duty by the mildest means possible; but he was too sensible, for settling his Affections rather upon the Walls or Houses of a City than upon the Inhabitants; and he knew perfectly well that *Paris* was the very Nest from whence came forth all those impure and ravenous Birds, which destroyed every thing wherever they could perch. But he knew that the best way for putting a speedy End to the Civil Wars, was to be Master of that Capital, and that as soon as the Head should have been cured, the rest of the Body would recover a pace, and that the best Method for reducing that City

was

Henry IV. was to storm it after having famished it. Finally, he knew very well that if he raised the Siege entirely, the Passages being opened, Provisions would come in plenty into the City, and the Governours thereof would be more cautious than before to store them. All these things he knew perfectly well; why then did he not act accordingly? the true Reason was, because he was not Master as yet to do what he would; Marshal of *Biron* who had great Credit amongst the Troops, and the Marquis *DO*, governed him entirely, he durst not oppose their Will, they both were led by their own private Interest; the first was afraid lest the War being at an end, his Authority would cease of course; the second aimed at the Forfeiture of his Creditors Estates, which he thought would fall to be the Lot of the Soldiers, should the City be taken by Storm: so that, for gratifying their private Interest, they put the King upon acting in a way quite contrary to his own Honour, as well as to his own Inclination.

Those who say that he had not sufficient Forces for taking the City any otherwise than by a Blockade, do not mind much what they say; his Army was at least 22000 strong, Horse and Foot, when he raised the Siege; and if he had been able to storm, in three Hours time, in the Night, all the Suburbs, who were in no small Number, why could he not storm the City in a Day, especially two Months after the beginning of the Siege? We have said it, the private Affections of some Great Men in his Council and in his Army, occasioned all this Mismanagement; they were not ashamed even to forge News for compassing their Ends; they told him every day, nay, sometimes every

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every hour, that they had received certain Advice that their Friends were upon the point of prevailing in the City, that to-morrow or the next day they would open the Gates, and such like stuff, to decoy his Majesty and to deceive him by fair Words.

Howbeit, on the 29th of *August* having certain Advice that the Duke of *Parma* had joined that of *Mayenne*, and that they were no further than six Leagues from *Paris*, *Henry* marched out of his Camp with part of his Troops, and appointed *Bondi's* Field for the rest to meet him the next day. He questioned not but the Enemy would give him battle, as they had industriously procured it to be published, in sure Expectation that it would prove the best means to oblige the King to raise the Siege, and march from before *Paris* with his whole Army, wherein they were not deceived.

But the Duke of *Parma*, as prudent and experienced as he was brave, was not such a Fool as to engage inconsiderately with the King; it is said, that he let him know beforehand, that he would oblige him to raise the Siege of *Paris*, and take a Town before his Face, without engaging with him, and indeed he was as good as his word; for on the first of *September* being come upon a Hill to take a view of the Royal Army, he was something surprized at their Number, (for he had been told that they were but ten thousand) and at their Order; whereupon he resolved to decline any Engagement, accordingly he pitch'd his Camp in a morassy Ground, which he retrenched so well, that he could not be forced. On the 8th of the same Month he battered *Lagny*, took it, and caused it to be plundered.

After

Henry IV.
1590.
Pope Sixtus V.

XXXVI.
The Siege raised.

Henry IV. After that Exploit, the King's Army began
 1590. to be in Distress for want of Provisions, they had
 Pope Six- no Bread for two or three Days. The Soldiers
 tus V. mutiny'd, the Generals charged one another
 XXXVII. with the bad Success of the Siege of *Paris*, the
 The King Nobility asked leave to retire to their own
 breaks his Houses, seeing no Battle was to be expected,
 Army. great Divisions and Heats arose between the
 Reformed and the Catholicks, and between the
 Officers of the old Court and the present.

Thereupon the King considered in his Council what was to be done in that sad Juncture ; it was resolved to break up the Camp, and retire. He took his way near *Senlis*, crossed the *Oyse* at *Creil* with a Haste more like a Flight than a Retreat ; he took *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, gave the Plunder thereof to the Soldiers, and sent part of his Troops to the Places adjacent to *Paris*, which held for his Party, another Part into the Provinces with his Nobility, and kept only 7 or 8 hundred Horse with himself.

XXXVIII. On the 27th of *August*, died at *Rome*, Pope
 Sixtus V's *Sixtus V.* in the 70th Year of his Age ; he had held
 Death. the See five Years, four Months and three Days ;
 having been elected on the 24th Day of *April*
 1585. Tho' his Reign was so short, nevertheless it is own'd, by the best Historians, that he did more and greater Things, in so short a time, than any of his Predecessors, which have recommended his Memory to Posterity ; some of which deserve to be praised, and others excite our Admiration. It is almost incredible what vast Sums he laid out in Buildings and such like things, some very useful to the Publick, and others only for Ornament and a shew of his Magnificence ; and nevertheless he laid up above five Millions of Crowns in his Exchequer during the time of his Pontificate. True
 it

it is, that the *State of the Church* and all his other Henry IV. Dominions were overborn with Taxes and Subsidies, which rendered him so odious to his Subjects, especially the *Romans*, that after his Death, the Populace ran into the *Capitol*, in order to pull down his Statue which had been placed there in his Life-time, by the Senate and the *Roman People*, which however they did not execute; but that Tumult occasioned a Decree, whereby it was declared, that *whoever should henceforward erect or propose to erect any Statue for any Pope, in his Life-time*, should be deemed a Villain, incapable to hold any Employment soever (d). 1590.
Pope Sixtus V.

His mean Birth, his Rise, and the Character of his Genius, are sufficiently known, therefore I shall not insist upon them. It is certain, that in King *Henry III's* Time he had countenanced the *League*, and had the Duke of *Guise* lived some Years longer, he would undoubtedly have supported it with all his Might, by no other Motive than for gratifying his private Ambition, and in certain hopes of marrying his own Neice with the Prince of *Joinville*, as soon as the Duke of *Guise* his Father should have been proclaimed King of *France*, as we have observed in our last Vol. But after the Death of the Duke of *Guise* and of *Henry III.* he began to relent and alter his Method, refusing absolutely to assist the Leaguers in the least; which provoked so much the *Spanish* Ambassador Count *D'Olivarez*, that he upbraided his *Holiness* with Pusillanimity, and with betraying the Cause of God; whereat the *Pope* was so highly offended, that had not Death prevented him, the Ambassador would have been expelled *Rome*. This Alteration in his Conduct was less owing

(d) Thuan. Lib. c. p. 115, 118.

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Henry IV. owing to the Remonstrances of the Duke of
^{1590.} *Luxemburg-Piney*, than to the Battle of *Jvri*,
Pope Sixtus V. and especially to the Views he had upon the
 Kingdom of *Naples*, which he intended to
 seize immediately after King *Philip's* Death,
 for which purpose he laid up such vast Treas-
 ures.

Succeeded by Urban VII. He was succeeded by Cardinal *Castagna*, who
 took the Name of *Urban VII.* his Reign was
 very short, he was endowed with great Mode-
 ration, of an extensive Charity, and several
 other Christian Graces, which gave great Ex-
 pectation of a glorious Pontificate ; he died
 thirteen Days after his Election, shewing forth a
 perfect Resignation to the Will of God Almighty.

And by Gregory XIV. He was succeeded, on the 5th of *December*,
 by Cardinal *Sfondrate*, who took the Name of
Gregory XIV. He was a great Stickler for the
 League, and one of their main Supporters ; he
 went much further in that respect than *Sixtus*
 had ever done, for he not only excommunicated
 the King and all his Adherents, but he sent
 ten thousand Men to the Assistance of his En-
 emies, and paid them fifteen thousand Livres a
 Month, besides large Sums of Money which he
 lent to them, for which purpose he laid out
 part of *Sixtus's* Treasure. It is said in his De-
 fence, that he was afraid lest the *Spaniards*
 should serve him as they had served his two
 Predecessors, for it was strongly rumoured that
 they had been poisoned by the *Spanish* Faction,
 because they were so little complaisant to that
 Crown (e).

XXXIX. We shall not undertake to give a particular
State of the Provinces. Account of the state of Affairs in the Provinces,
 that is impossible, inasmuch as they had no

(e) Thuan. Lib. c. ci. Mezeray, Tom. VI. Suite de la 3e
 Partie.

certain Prospect in View, but they varied as the private Interest of their Chief. The Duke of *Merceur* was almost Master of the whole Province of *Britany*, where the *Spaniards* made a Descent and took *Blavet*, which they fortified. That Duke was the most obstinate of all the Heads of the League, and stood out the longest, for he could not be brought to yield 'till the Year 1598.

The Duke of *Jayeuse* made great Progress in *Languedoc*, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governour of that Province, who had been created of late Constable of *France*. But at last he was obliged to yield to a superior Force, and was drowned accidentally in the *Tarn*, in October 1593, after he had been routed by *Themines*, and lost 2000 Men slain in the Field or drowned in the River, all his Baggage taken, with 22 Pair of Colours and five Cannons. He was Brother to the Duke of *Jayeuse* killed at *Contras* in 1587 (f).

Marshal of *Matignon* kept the Province of *Guienne* in awe, and the Leaguers made none, or very little progress in it; however, the King was not as yet acknowledged by the Parliament; they made use of *Henry III's* Seal, even a Year after his Death, which being thought very ridiculous by the most prudent, *Le Comte*, Master of the Requests and Keeper of the Seal, caused a new one to be made, with the Name of *Henry IV. King of France and Navarre* engraved upon it; for which he was called to an Account by the Parliament, as being done without their Knowledge and Consent. But the King's Attorney took his part, and the Affair being put into Deliberation, whereat *Matignon* was present, and the hottest Opposers being absent

(f) Thuan. Lib. ciii. p. 238. 239.

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Henry IV. absent upon some other Business, *Le Comte* carried his Point by a great Majority. But nothing advanced more the King's Interest in that Parliament, than the Decree made at *Tours* with his Majesty's Consent on the 10th of *November*, and read at *Bordeaux* on the 20th, whereby the Chambers of Justice composed only of Judges professing the Reformed Religion; and which had been established under the late King at *St. John of Angely* in *Saintonge*, at *Bergerac* in *Perigord*, and at *Montauban* in *Quercy*, were suppressed as abovesaid; and the Reformed obliged to appear before the ancient Tribunals and Courts, as in former Times, whenever there was Occasion, which indeed was a great Hardship put upon them (g).

In Dau-
phiné.

Les Diguieres, and *D'Albigny*, Governour of *Grenoble* for the League, waged War against one another, the former for the King, the latter for the League; but the first being much superior, forced, at last, the other to yield intirely, having taken by Composition the City of *Grenoble* after three Weeks Siege, whereby the whole Province was reduced under the King's Obedience, and that great Man in a Condition of affording his Assistance, sometimes to *Maugiron*, Deputy-Governour of the *Lyonese*, and sometimes to *La Valette* Governour of *Provence*. We must not forget to observe, that as soon as the News of the late King's Murder reached *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alphonso Ornano* a *Corfican*, Deputy-Governour of that Province, being fully convinced that Religion was but a mere Pretence which the Heads of the League made use of for compassing their private Views, he made no scruple to sue for *Les Diguieres's* Friendship, and to make an Alliance offensive and

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 65

and defensive with him, which was concluded Henry IV. and signed at *La Grange*, on the 13th of September 1589, but a few Months after he was taken Prisoner of War by the *League* (b). ^{1590. Pope Gregory XIV.}

Provence was miserably rent by three Fac-^{In Pro-}tions besides the Royalist Party; the Duke of *Savoy*, the Countess of *Sault*, the Count of *Carces* had each their own. The Duke of *Savoy's* seemed to be predominant, and to keep the two others in his own Interest: But the Countess, (her Name was *Christierna of Aguerre*, Relict of *Louis of Agout* Count of *Sault*) a Lady of great Courage and a high Spirit, was willing to introduce him into the Province only with a view to make herself the strongest in it: And the Count of *Carces*, unable to subsist by himself, was very glad to see the Duke in the Province, in order to make a Diversion of *La Valette's* Forces, with whom it was impossible for him to cope by any other means. The Parliament of *Aix* itself was likewise divided betwixt these three Factions, and some of the Members thereof had separated themselves from the others, being in the King and *La Valette's* Interest, and held their Sessions at *Manosque*.

The King of *Spain* being sensible that if he could possibly wrest that Province from the *French*, he would be Master of the *Mediterranean*, break their Alliance with the *Turks*, interrupt their Correspondence with *Italy*, and their Trade in the *Levant*; sent a naval Army of 47 Gallies to the Duke of *Savoy*, and gave

(b) *Vie du Connestable de Les Diguieres* Liv. III. ch. xii. & chap. vii. p. 180, 181. Thuan. lib. xciv. speaks only of a Truce which had been agreed in February 1589, and was to last to the latter end of 1590; but there is no contradiction between them both, the Truce was made at the time which Thuanus says, before the King's Death, but served as the Basis of the Alliance concluded after that Prince's Decease.

Henry IV. him leave to raise Troops in the *Milanese* and
 1590. in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Pope Gregory XIV. In the first Heats of these Commotions, the Duke, by his Intrigues and his Money, got the upper-hand; the Magistrates of the chief Cities, amongst others, *Marseilles*, and *Aix* were all at his Disposal; a great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobility held at *Aix* in *January*, resolved to put the Province under his Protection, and deputed unto him a Bishop and the first Consul of the City; nay, the Parliament itself decreed to call him to protect the Province, and confiscated the Goods and Estates of the VARIEGATED, so they called the Royalists (*j*); he came accordingly, and was received with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence.

It would be a piece of Folly to pretend to enter into the Particulars of the manifold Intrigues and Exploits of so many Parties, who altering every day their Views and Schemes, knew not very well themselves what they were about; so that I shall omit them: only I shall observe, that the Duke of *Savoy*, immediately after the late King's Death, had put to a great Tryal the Fidelity of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, offering to take them and the whole Province of *Dauphiné* under his Protection, if they would acknowledge his Title, as being Son to one of *Francis I's* Daughters. But they wisely answered, that that Proposition was of such Importance that it belonged not to them but only to the General States of the Kingdom to resolve it, and to them they referred him. Whereupon *D'Albigny* his good Friend, Governor of *Grenoble*, advised him to try his Fortune upon *Provence*; wherein indeed he had at first

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 67

first much better Success than he could reasonably expect (i).

I shall not speak of the Transactions in several other Provinces, where Affairs were in as great Confusion as in *Provence*, but I shall return to Court. After the King's Retreat, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* came out of their Retrenchments, (it is said the first being curious to see the City of *Paris*, went thither *incognito*, but was extremely moved at such a melancholy Sight) and took some small Towns in the *Brie*. They endeavoured to open the Passages of the *Seine*, as they had done the *Marne's*, for which purpose the Duke of *Parma* besieged *Corbeil*, which he could not take but after a Month's Siege, through the Jealousies of the Governour of the Places that held for the *League*, and he lost 3000 Men of his Troops who died with the Bloody Flux, caused by their eating too many green Grapes. After that Exploit he returned into the *Low Countries*, very ill satisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, with whom however he left 8000 Men. Before he marched he had the mortification to lose his new Conquest, I mean *Corbeil*, which *Givry* retook by Escalado in the Night. The King having re-assembled his Troops, pursued the said Duke for some time.

Now Divisions were rife in the King's and the *League's* Parties, each Chief of the *League* aimed at Sovereignty in the Province where he was supported, the Duke of *Merceur* in *Bri-sany*, the Duke of *Jayeuse* in *Languedoc*, and the Duke of *Savoie* in *Provence*; nay, the Duke of *Mayenne* himself could not bear without Jealousy the Respects paid by the *Parisians* to the Duke of *Nemours* his Half-Brother, and

1599.
Pope Gregory XIV.

XL.

The Leaguers' Army's Operations.

XLi.

Divers Factions in the King's and the League's Party.

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(i) Thuan. lib. xcvii. p. 12, 13.

Henry IV. the Preference which their Mother the old Dowager gave to this last before him; he shewed publicly how far he carried his Resentment against him, when he refused him the Government of *Normandy*, which he desired with great Earnestness, and thenceforward they could never agree well together. The SIXTEEN had a mind to unite together the great Cities of the Kingdom and to form thereof a Republican State, they were outwardly supported by the King of *Spain*, who was in hopes to improve these Dispositions to his best Advantage. They hated the Duke of *Mayenne*, because he opposed their Designs, and had abrogated the Council of FORTY, and gave them no share in the publick Administration of Affairs (k).

1590.
Pope Gregory XIV.

Amongst the Royalists there were more Intrigues, though not carried to such great Heats, because they all respected the King. The Reformed dreading the Consequences of the King's Change, left no stone unturned to divert that threatening Danger, and were very active near his Majesty to engage him to be stedfast in his Religion; for which purpose they made use of a'l their Friends in the Protestant Courts of *England* and *Germany*, for procuring greater Succours from Queen *Elizabeth* and the Protestant Princes, to the end that their Master being powerfully assisted by them, he might stand less in need of his Catholick Subjects for the recovering of his Right. The Viscount of *Turenne* was charged with that Commission, and sent by the King into *England* and *Germany*, where his Negotiations had the desired Success.

The second Faction in the King's Party, was the Catholicks, zealous, or feigning to be such, for

(k) Mezeray *Henry IV.* p. 45, 47.

for their Religion, they endeavoured with all their ^{Henry IV.} Might to alienate his Majesty from the Reformed, they grumbled whenever he bestowed upon them any Charges or Offices, or whenever he spoke with them in private. ^{1590. Pope Gregory XIV.}

The third Faction was composed of the Favourites and Officers of the old Court, who were much displeased at the present King's Temper, because he did not bestow upon them whatever their Greediness coveted, and would not be led by the Nose by them; of these, most part were without Religion, Atheists, Libertines, however linked with the Catholicks, and created much uneasiness to the King.

Out of the two last Factions united together, sprung a *Third Party*, which the King used to call the TERSELS or TASSELS. Cardinal of Vendome Son to Lewis I. Prince of Condé, who since the Death of his Uncle had taken the Name of *Bourbon*, was the Head thereof. That young Prince, vain and ambitious, flattered himself that the Crown would devolve unto him, should the King his Cousin refuse to change his Religion; with that view he made Interest with the Catholicks, and engaged them to insist upon the King's speedy Conversion; being in hopes that neither his Conscience nor his Affairs were as yet disposed for that Change, he would still protract the Time if he did not reject the Proposal, and consequently, he would have him deemed, by his secret Intrigues, for an obstinate Heretick, and engage the Catholicks to forsake him, and then side with him. In truth that *Faction* was the most intricate Affair which ever perplexed the King, tho' he feigned to scorn it. And it is more than likely that his Majesty would not have abjured his Religion, at least so soon, had

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Henry IV. it not been for the Troubles created unto him by that very Party, out of whom it was impossible, humanly speaking, to extricate himself by any other means (1).

1590.
Pope Gregory XI.

1591.

I shall pass over several Attempts made by the two Parties at the beginning of the Year 1591. The *Parisians* were disappointed at *St. Dennis*, the Chevalier of *Aumale* was slain just upon the point of being Master of that Town; and the King missed *Paris*, when he was almost sure to enter it; that Day was called the MEAL'S Day, because he was to surprize that City, by means of a Convoy of Meal which was to be introduced into it. But the Cheat was timely discovered, and the Clamours of the Inhabitants obliged the Duke of *Mayenne* to admit a Garison of 4000 *Spaniards*.

XLII.
A new Scheme for a Religious Peace approved, but delayed.

After the raising of the Siege of *Paris*, the Proposal for mending the Condition of the Reformed had been taken again into Consideration in the King's Council; and the King moving towards *Normandy*, charged *Du Plessis* to draw a new Scheme for procuring Peace amongst his Subjects. Accordingly he set down in writing the Form of a Declaration, which contained chiefly these three Points. First, A Repeal of the Edicts of *July* 1585, and of the same Month in 1588. Secondly, the restoring of the Edict granted to the Reformed in 1577, and of the Articles publick and secret, agreed in the Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*. Thirdly, the Restauration of the Roman Catholicks and of their Religion, in all the Places possessed by the present King at the time of the Truce agreed and signed by the late King two Years before, the Reformed continuing to enjoy the free publick Exercise of their own Religion in the said Places.

(1) *Perefixe Vie de Henry le Grand*, pag. 189.

Places. All this by Provision only, and until Henry IV his Majesty should be, through the Mercy of God, in a proper Condition of re-uniting his Subjects into one Fold, by the means of a General or National Council, or at least of a select number of the most eminent Divines of both Religions in the Kingdom (*m*).

The great Impartiality and Moderation which Du Plessis had observed in the framing of that Declaration was highly approved and applauded, not only by the King, but also by his whole Council; the Chancellor and he received Orders to carry it to *Tours* in order to be read and registered in the Parliament sitting there. But being arrived at *Anet*, they were obliged to return, having received there an Express from his Majesty, who countermanded them, and that Affair was put off for some Months (*n*).

Du Plessis being sensible that such a Delay would be very prejudicial to the King's Interest abroad as well as at home, he sent a Remonstrance to his Majesty upon that Subject, dated in the Month of *March* 1591. Wherein he sets forth with great Freedom, the Wrong that he did unto himself by delaying to do a Thing so just, equitable, useful, necessary, as the intended Edict was, so advantageous to the Catholics themselves, as well as to the Reformed. "God Almighty, says he, has heap-
ed so many Blessings of all kinds, upon his Majesty, that they cannot be dissembled, he requires an Acknowledgement, and he who desires to receive Graces upon Graces, must give Grace for them. He has led his Majesty to the Throne by the very Hands

1591.
Pope Gregory XIV

XLIII.
Du Plessis
Remon-
strance to
the King.

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(*m*) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay Tom. II. p. 66—80.

(*n*) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay liv. i. p. 155.

Henry IV ^{1591.} " of his Enemies: The whole Christendom
 Pope Gre- " owns that he has been called to the Crown
 gory XIV. " by most extraordinary Means; it must be
 " then upon very extraordinary Accounts; he
 " must reign effectually for God, since he
 " reigns so visibly by God. The Difficulties
 " and Obstructions belong unto Men, not unto
 " God, who is almighty for delivering, if we
 " invoke him and serve him from the bottom
 " of our Hearts. There was a far greater Di-
 " stance between the fundamental Law and
 " the Crown, than between the Edict of Truce
 " (in 1589) and the Edict of 1577. If God
 " has been pleased in his Mercy to work the
 " one for us, we cannot refuse or delay the
 " other. It is said, let the *Hugonots* have pa-
 " tience. They have suffered for above fifty
 " Years together; they will, to be sure, en-
 " dure longer for the King's Service, for they
 " are his Subjects, and unalterable in their Af-
 " fection. But it is not for his Majesty's In-
 " terest to let them suffer in such things, and
 " tho' they were willing, his Majesty ought not
 " to endure it. Religion is smothered in Men,
 " if it is not continually fomented. It is his
 " Majesty's Duty to rekindle it in them, and
 " to require of them that Ardour which they
 " owe to God. God requires of private Men
 " only that they should be religious; but as to
 " those who are born for all, and whom he has
 " constituted for ruling over others, God re-
 " quires of them that they should be religious
 " not only for themselves, but also for others;
 " that is, they must serve God not only them-
 " selves, but they must endeavour to bring o-
 " thers to do the same. Some say, we will treat
 " with the Reformed when we shall treat with
 " the Leaguers. What Iniquity, to treat e-
 " qually

"qually Things and Persons so unequal! The ^{Henry IV.}
 "Leaguers have always waged War against ^{1591.}
 "the King; the Reformed for the King; ^{Pope Gre-}
 "what occasion has the King for making ^{gory XIV.}
 "Peace with the Reformed? To join them
 "together in the Treaty of Peace with the
 "Leaguers, it is to join them together in the
 "War, it is to make them Accomplices of the
 "same Crimes with them. All that they
 "want, is a Regulation with the Catholicks, and
 "to be delivered from the Oppression whereunder
 "their Consciences groan. The King is the
 "Judge and Arbiter thereof; and there is no
 "need to refer them to an uncertain Negotia-
 "tion of Peace, which will be settled, God
 "knows when. But after all, how could they
 "wait any longer in respect of several daily
 "Occurrences? Every day somebody comes
 "in or out of the World, every day there is
 "some Marriage. Must Children die without
 "being christened? must Marriages be cele-
 "brated without any Solemnity? Would they
 "not be disputed? (and even made void by
 "the Laws of the Kingdom.) Must the Corpse
 "remain without Burial? Every day we see
 "some Instances of these Things, Scandals,
 "Law-Suits, Inhumanities, for want of Free-
 "dom of Exercises. To meet three Families
 "together to pray to God for the King's
 "Prosperity, to sing a Psalm in one's Shop,
 "to sell a *French New Testament*, or a *French*
 "*Bible*, these things are deemed irremissible
 "Crimes by the Judges; and every day they
 "punish them, and say that they can't help it,
 "that they do nothing but execute the last Edicts
 "still in Force, so that they make no diffe-
 "rence between praying in a private Room
 "for the King's Prosperity, and preaching
 "seditionously

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Henry IV. " seditiously from the Pulpit against his Person
1591. " and Government.

Pope Gre-
gory XIV.

" All these Evils call aloud for a Remedy,
" and many Inconveniencies will attend the
" Delay thereof. When a People stand in
" need, it is prudently done to prevent it by
" some Liberalities, and to grant them be-
" fore asked for. Indeed the King must not
" teach his Subjects to complain, and much
" less to seek elsewhere for a proper Remedy
" to their Disease. ——— His Majesty knows
" very well that his Subjects cannot live in the
" condition they are in; to the end therefore that
" they should not ask superfluous Things, let him
" grant them the necessary, without being
" asked; to the end that they should not commit
" some error in their way of asking, let him
" spare them the trouble. A foreign Army
" is to come. Two Inconveniencies will pro-
" ceed therefrom, if Things remain *in statu*
" *quo*, as to the Reformed; the foreign Princes
" will certainly beseech his Majesty to grant
" his Reformed Subjects the free Exercise of
" their Religion; that will be very little to
" the honour of his Majesty, to be solicited
" by others to perform his Duty, and to be
" mindful of the Glory of God; what! a
" King like him! a most Christian King! a
" King who from his Infancy has undertaken
" the Protection of the true Christians! No
" Honour for him, no thanks to him, tho'
" he should do it at that time. And may be
" too, they will then ask more, than he would
" care to grant if he could refuse; which will
" afford the Catholicks a Pretence for revoking
" whatever Concessions shall have been made;
" because they will say, that they have been
" extorted by Force, even tho' the things
" granted

“granted should fall short of what can be rea- Henry IV.
 “sonably expected. But if at their coming ^{1591.}
 “into the Kingdom, they find the Reformed ^{Pope Gre-}
 “enjoying the free Exercise of their Reli- ^{gory XIV.}
 “gion, as there will be no room for them to
 “petition upon that account, so that having
 “been with the Agreement and Consent of
 “their present Opposers, there will be no
 “room left them for demanding the Repeal
 “of these Concessions. Nothing so much
 “commanded Love and Respect for the King
 “from all his Subjects at his Accession to the
 “Crown, as the Profession he made of fearing
 “God, that Fear invited them to dread him
 “himself, and made them fear God in him.
 “They praised God who had blessed them
 “with a Prince that worshipped him, where-
 “as his Predecessors blasphemed him. They
 “expected that he would be blessed with a hap-
 “py Success in all his Undertakings, because
 “they saw him trusting intirely upon his mer-
 “ciful Providence; and that they would them-
 “selves prosper, because they served such a
 “Prince endowed with Faith, Honesty, Pro-
 “bity, Integrity. But if they perceive his
 “Majesty growing cool or lukewarm as to
 “his Religion, living less religiously than it
 “is prescribed, certainly they will not have
 “for him half the Respect they have had
 “heretofore. They will say, if he thinks his
 “Religion to be true, why doth he not shew
 “forth a greater Value and Respect for it? If
 “not, why doth he not procure us Rest and
 “Quietness by his Change (o)?”

The King was extremely moved by this
 free Remonstrance, he was very sensible that it
 contained nothing but plain Truth; but besides
 that

(o) Mem. de Du Pleffis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 81.

Henry IV. that his Zeal for his Religion began to relent, and that he began to incline towards the Coun-
 1591. sel of those who thought that there was no
 Pope Gre- great Sin to remain neuter between the two
 gory XIV. Religions, his Circumstances did not allow him
 to proceed any further for the present as to the
 Satisfaction which his Reformed Subjects re-
 quired of him, and it was only in *July* following
 that he granted it, as we shall say presently.

In the while *Du Pleffis* took a turn to *Saumur* and had the pleasure to find that his Lady had begun to build a Church for the use of the Reformed. He had himself obtained the King's Patent for erecting an Academy at *Saumur*, which was agreed three Years after by the National Synod held in that City (*p*).

XLIV. About the same time died at *Auxerre* the
 James A- renowned *James Amiot*, Bishop of that Place,
 miot's and great Almoner of *France*. He had been
 Death, Tutor to the Kings *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and
 some Ac- *Henry III.* His Birth was very mean, being
 count of him. Son to a Butcher of *Melun*, where he was born;
 (*St. Real* says, that he was Son to a Currier) his
 Rise and Progress had something very extraor-
 dinary and providential in it, according to the
 Author just now quoted; for he says,
 that *Amiot* being a little Boy, ran away from
 his Father's House for fear of being whipped.
 That he went not very far off before he fell
 sick in *Beauisse*, and lay down in a Field. That
 a Man on horseback, going by, took pity of him
 and carried him behind him to *Orleans*, where
 he sent him to the Hospital in order to be
 cured; but whereas all his Disease proceeded
 only from Fatigue and Weariness, he had not
 rested one full Day, but he was perfectly well
 cured, therefore he was dismissed, having re-
 ceived

ceived sixteen Pence to go on with his Journey; with that Money he arrived at *Paris*,^{1591.} and was obliged to beg for his Bread. A Lady ^{Pope Gregory XIV.} to whom he addressed himself being well pleased with his Physiognomy took him into her House to attend her Sons when they went to the College, and to carry their Books; he improved this Opportunity for gratifying his prodigious Inclination for Learning, and was such a Proficient therein; that, as it was usual in those days, he was soon suspected of favouring the new Opinion about Religion. For fear of the worst he left *Paris*, and went into *Berry* to a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, who trusted him with the Care of his Childrens Education. While he was there, *Henry II.* being a travelling, lodged at that Gentleman's House. *Amiot* being desired to write something in Verse to divert the King, he made an Epigram in *Greek*, which being presented to his Majesty by his Pupil, he cast his Eyes upon it, and threw it down upon the Floor, saying scornfully, *it is Greek, give it to some other, I am no such Fool.* The Author was confounded at it. But *Michel de l'Hospital*, afterwards Chancellor of *France*, who attended the King in that Journey, understanding that it was *Greek*, took up the Paper, read the Epigram and admired it; then he took *Amiot* by his Head, and looking him in the Face asked him, who was the Author thereof? He blushed and all-trembling acknowledged it for his own. *L'Hospital* questioning not his Sincerity, told his Majesty, that did the Morals of that Lad answer to his Learning and super-fine Taste, he deserved to be made Tutor to the SONS OF FRANCE. Whereupon his Majesty asked the Master of the House the Character of *Amiot*, and having had an excellent one,

Henry IV. The

1591. of thei

Pope Gre-

gory XIV. Henry

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... had been, for

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... Pranks more ex-

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... be very prejudicial to

... gave him much Uneasi-

... The young Cardinal of Bourbon

... endeavouring to ex-

... Desires of obtaining the

... which purpose he tam-

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... for treating with the

... But Cardinal Lenoncour

... the whole Intrigue, the

... prevented before

... execute them.

... that Siege that the

... *Conf. Landriano* into

... of Excommunication

... Adherents. Which

... favourable Opportunity

... Reformed Subjects

... provoke the Par-

... the Chamber sitting at

... Court of Rome.

... Member of the

... declared by a De-

... the Bulls of the Pope

... seditious,

... contrary to the holy

... Decrees, Canons and Councils, and to the

... *Rogats and Liberties* of the *Gallian Church*;

... ordered that they should be torn in pieces and

... burnt by the common Executioner: That *Landriano*

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no should be seized, 10000 Livres offered Henry IV.
whomsoever should bring him to justice, for-^{1591.}
giving all the King's Subjects to receive him; Pope Gre-
to keep any Correspondence at all with gory XIV.
me.

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Satisfaction they longed after. He set forth in *behalf of*
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Henry IV. litician, as poor *St. Genevieve* had been, for having suffered the Town of *St. Denis* to be taken by the *BEARNSE* the very Day of her Feast, and a thousand other Pranks more extravagant one than another (*t*).

XLVII. During this long Siege two Things happened, which were like to be very prejudicial to the King's Affairs, and gave him much Uneasiness. First, The young Cardinal of *Bourbon* took that Opportunity for endeavouring to execute his ambitious Designs of obtaining the Crown for himself; for which purpose he tampered as much as he could with the Catholick Lords, and sent to *Rome* for treating with the Pope about that Affair: But Cardinal *Lenoncour* opened to the King the whole Intrigue, the Effects whereof were happily prevented before he had time enough to execute them.

XLVIII. Secondly, It was during that Siege that the Pope sent his Referendary *Marfilio Landriano* into *France* to publish his Bull of Excommunication against the King and all his Adherents. Which served only to afford a favourable Opportunity to the King for granting his Reformed Subjects their just Petitions; and to provoke the Parliament of *Tours*, and the Chamber sitting at *Chaalons* against the Court of *Rome*.

The Pope's Bull condemned at Chaalons. The Chamber of *Chaalons*, Member of the Parliament sitting at *Tours*, declared by a Decree of the 10th of *June*, the Bulls of the Pope void and null, as abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of Impositions, contrary to the holy Decrees, Canons and Councils, and to the Rights and Liberties of the *Gallican* Church; ordered that they should be torn in pieces and burnt by the common Executioner: That *Landriano*

(*t*) L'Etoile Mem. pour servir a l'Hist. de *France*, Tom. II. p. 33—38.

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driano should be seized, 10000 Livres offered Henry IV. to whomsoever should bring him to justice, for-^{1591.} bidding all the King's Subjects to receive him; *Pope Gregory XIV.* or to keep any Correspondence at all with *Rome.*

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Henry IV. in their Distress as far as the present Circumstances of Times could allow it. Then he proposed the repealing of all the Edicts published against them by the late King, since the Year 1585 inclusive, and restoring them to the full Enjoyment of the Edict of Peace granted by the same King in 1577, with the Additions and Constructions given at *Flex* and *Nerac*, at least till God in his Mercy should have put him in a condition of re-uniting his Subjects in the Pale of the Church, by the Determination of a free General or National Council. Every one applauded that Proposition, the young Cardinal of *Bourbon* excepted, who, out of an unreasonable Zeal either real or pretended, got up stammering in a passion, and feigned to go out of the Assembly; but far from being supported, he provoked them to laugh, and the King seeing that no body took his part, and that the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Bishops of *Nantes*, of *Maillezés*, of *Bayeux*, nor any other of the Bench of the Bishops did follow him, he recalled him, and desired him to sit again. Then a new Edict having been drawn up accordingly, *James Augustus Thuanus*, the Historian; who was present at that Deliberation, was charged to carry the two Edicts, that against the *Legate*, and that in behalf of the Reformed, to the Parliament at *Tours*, in order to be read and registered there, which was done on the 5th and 6th of *August*, and three Days after in the Chamber of Accounts (v).

L.
*Assembly
of the Clergy
at
Mantes.*

The King had exhorted the Bishops, that attended the Court at *Mantes*, to provide for themselves and the rest of the Clergy, lest they should be Sufferers by the *Pope's* Bulls lately published; for which purpose they held an Assembly

(v) Thuan. lib. ci. p. 162, 163, 164.

bly in that City, while the King was at Com-^{Henry IV.}
piegne making the necessary Preparations for the ^{1591.}
 Siege of *Noyons*. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, ^{Pope Gre-}
 Head of the third Party as abovesaid, betrayed a ^{gory XIV.}
 great Weakness of Mind on this Occasion, by his
 putting off the Conclusion from Day to Day, till
 at last the Duke of *Mayenne* made an Attempt
 upon that City in the night time, which proved
 fruitless, thro' the Care and Diligence of *Mor-*
nay De Bubi Lieutenant of *D'O*; the said Car-
 dinal was much suspected of having a hand in
 that Attempt: however the said Assembly was
 transferred to *Chartres*, for greater Security. *Transfer-*
 But far from endeavouring to repress the *Pope's* ^{red to}
 Audaciousness, or to support the Honour of ^{Chartres.}
 the *Crown*, the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*,
 and to help the *King* to extricate himself out of
 his Troubles; they carried their Audaciousness
 almost as far as the *Pope* himself; they en-
 croached upon the Rights and Prerogatives of
 the Parliament, and they entangled his Majes-
 ty in a world of Difficulties: a Sketch of their
 Resolutions and the Propositions made by them
 in consequence thereof, with *Du Plessis's* Re-
 marks upon each, will evince what I say.

1. *That the Pope's Excommunication shall be*
deemed void, and the Pope not acknowledged
therein. ^{LI. Resolutions of the said Assembly.}

Because the Clergy adhering to the King,
 were nearly concerned therein, as being ex-
 communicated; but the Lay-Men were only
 admonished by the same Bull.

2. *That the King shall be besought to grant them*
leave to write to the Pope, and to send some De-
puties to his Holiness.

Nay, they named these Deputies without
 waiting for his Majesty's Answer, contrary to
 the Decree of the Parliament, whereby it was

Henry IV. forbidden to send to *Rome* upon any account
 1591. soever, which Decree was no less obligatory
 Pope Gregory XIV. to the Clergy than to the Lay-men. Such a
 Behaviour occasions his Majesty's Subjects to
 question his own Authority, and that Diversity and Contradiction of Opinions trouble the
 Consciences of the Catholicks.

3. *That in the mean while the Order which ought to be settled for the Provision of Benefices shall be superseded.*

That being the only point whereupon they were to attend, and for which they had obtained leave to assemble; they ought to presuppose according to the Parliament's Decree, that the *Pope* had no longer any Power in *France* as to that.

4. *That the Court of Parliament shall be interdicted and forbidden to take any Cognizance of that Affair, or of any thing that relates to it.*

But that is to deprive the Parliament of a Right and an Authority which they have enjoyed time out of mind, to take Cognizance, exclusive of all other Courts, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, of all the Differences arising from time to time betwixt the Kings and the Popes, concerning the pretended Power of these, and the Privileges of the Kingdom. It is, not only to abrogate what the Parliament has enacted now for the Support of the King's Authority, but whatever they can do for the future to the same end.

5. *That the King shall be besought to turn Catholick, and be instructed.*

It is for that very purpose that all the foregoing Articles are drawn up, viz. to the end that his Majesty not humouring them, there should be no Parliament for deciding that every Man is bound to obey his Prince, notwithstanding

ing

ing any Pretence soever of Heresy ; according-^{HenryIV.}
ly some of them went much further in the said ^{1591.}
Assembly ; for they said, that his Majesty ^{Pope Gre-}
ought to be compelled to turn Catholick, or ^{goryXIV.}
else they could no longer serve him in good
Conscience. That is the true Foundation of
that pretended Chimæra, THE THIRD PAR-
TY, which indeed subsists only to this day, in
the whimsical Fancy of Men ; and which, how-
ever, must not be neglected, because the Fancy
only sometimes works out something.

6. *That the King shall be desired to grant that
the said Assembly of the Clergy should interpose for
making Peace.*

Just as if the King did not mind enough his
own and his People's Rest and Quietness, and
let slip the Opportunity of procuring it ; just
as if his Majesty had not always said, that for
one Step that his Enemies should make towards
him for that purpose, he would make four ;
just as if the Lords, the Officers of the Crown,
and State Counsellors that were near his Person
wanted sufficient Abilities for that purpose ;
just as if the Clergy, who suffer the least, were
more concerned therein, than the Nobility that
shed their Blood, and the Commons that ex-
haust their Substance in the pursuit of this War.
But their Intention is very plain, they want
to be Arbiters that they might re-unite all the
Catholicks, as much as they can, under the
same pretence, for offering Violence to his Ma-
jesty as to his Religion, whenever they shall
think proper. Which presupposes likewise
some Underdealings and Intelligencies with the
Enemies, quite intolerable. For if they have
none, why ! what can they do in that Business
better than others ? And if they know therein
any thing better than others, why did they not

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Henry IV. one, he was without any further delay admitted into that Employment. The King afterwards bestowed upon him the Abby of *Bellefane*, and was so well acquainted with the bright Parts of that Abbot, that he sent him his Embassador to the Council of *Trent*, for protesting against it. He remained in the same Condition he was in without any further Advancement till *Charles IX.* But one day at the King's Dinner, as the Discourse ran upon *Charles V.* that Emperor was commended upon several accounts, especially for having raised his Tutor *Adrian VI.* to be *Pope.* As every one magnified that Piece of Gratitude, King *Charles* said, that he would do the same for his own Tutor, (who was obliged to be present whenever his Majesty sat at Table) if ever Occasion was offered unto him. A little time after the great Almonry became vacant, and *Charles* offered it to *Amiot*, who out of Humility declined it at first; but the King insisted, saying, that it was not all that he intended to do for him. The Queen Mother, who had promised that Preferment to some other, understanding that the King had disposed thereof in behalf of his Tutor, sent for *Amiot* in her own Closet, and told him in a rage, *I have made the GUISES and the CHASTILLONS, the CONSTABLES and the CHANCELLORS, the Kings of NAVARRE and the Princes of CONDE buckle to me, and you, SORRY PRIEST, shall I meet you in my way?* *Amiot* was Thunder-struck at these Words, in vain did he endeavour to excuse himself, the imperious Queen silenced him with this Threatning, that in twenty four Hours he would be a dead Man if he accepted. *Amiot* found no better means for extricating himself out of this Trouble than by hiding himself in some secret Place

where he could not be found. Three Days af- Henry IV.
ter *Amiot* not appearing as usual when the King 1591.
sat at Table, his Majesty asked what was be- Pope Gre-
come of him? and commanded to look for him. gory XIV.
till he could be found. But that Search was in-
vain. At last the King suspecting how it was,
What, says he, because I have made him Great
Almoner, he has been taken away! Whereupon
he flew into such a violent Passion, that the
Queen Mother dreading the Consequences there-
of, caused *Amiot* to be inquired for with all
Diligence possible, and till he could be found out
at any rate, giving unto him all the Securities
he could desire. Some time after he was promo-
ted to the See of *Auxerre*. He is charged with
a fordid Avarice, *Charles IX.* upbraided him
for it one day, and told him in a Banter, *that*
the Neats Tongues whereupon he fed, put People
in remembrance that he was Son to a Butcher.
But the worst thing wherewith he was charged,
was a black Ungratefulness towards the Kings his
good Pupils; for it is said, that living constant-
ly in his Diocese, whether because of his Infirmi-
ties, or because he thought himself in Duty
bound to reside, he was too complaisant for the
Inhabitants, and connived at their Rebellion a-
gainst their Sovereign. However, he died in
the sixty-first Year of his Age, and was, and
has been renowned amongst the Learned for his
Translations of the *Æthiopicks* or the Romance
of *Tbeagenes* and *Chariclea*, done by the famous
Heliodorus Bishop of *Traca* in *Thracia*, who
chose to renounce his Bishoprick rather than to
burn his Book; of *Longus's Poemenicks*; he
translated afterwards *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (q).
The

(q) Thuan. lib. c. p. 139. Teisier Eloge des Hommes
savans, &c. Tom. II.

Henry IV. The Reformed lost about the same time one
 1591. of their most renowned Divines, namely, *Anthony of Chandieu*, descended of the ancient and
 Pope Gre- noble Family Barons of *Chandieu* in the Coun-
 gory XIV. try of *Forest*. Great Mistakes have been made

XLV. either about his Age when he was received Mi-
 De Chan- nister of *Paris*, or about his Age when he was
 dieu's chosen Moderator of the third National Synod,
 Death, or when he died. It is granted that he died in
 some Ac- 1591, in the fifty-seven Year of his Age; now
 count of how could he be but 23 Years when he presi-
 him. ded in the third National Synod held at *Orleans*
 in 1562, as *Aymond* and *Quick* have affirmed
 positively? *Teissier* will put us in the right, he
 tells us that in the second Year of his Ministry,
 he was charged with Heresy, and sent to Goal
 for it, but was immediately after released by the
 King of *Navarre's* Orders, who went to the
Chastelet in person, as we have observed in our
 first Book, pag. 97. That Event fell in the
 Year 1558, so that he was then twenty-four
 Years old, and consequently twenty-eight when
 he presided in the National Synod in 1562.
 He was in great Esteem and much respected,
 not only by the Reformed, but even at Court,
 for his Mien, the Sweetness of his Deportment,
 his Eloquence and his great Learning; he pub-
 lished several Treatises upon different Subjects
 of Divinity, under the Name of *Sadeel* and
Isamariel, two Hebrew Names which answered to
 that under which he went. It is observable
 that he received no Salary for his Ministry:
 Being obliged to leave the Kingdom, to avoid
 the Danger wherewith he was threatened, he re-
 tired to *Geneva*, was admitted in the Number
 of the Pastors of that Church, and died there
 of a Consumptive Fever (r).

Tho'

(r) Eidem Ibid.

Tho' the Winter was very severe that Year, Henry IV. the King marched to besiege *Chartres*. The Garison was of two hundred Men, but there were 3000 Militia, who being persuaded that they supported the Cause of God and of the *Blessed Virgin*, withstood all the Assaults with an unparalleled Bravery. The Siege was long and bloody, and His Majesty was two or three times upon the point of raising it. But *Cbi-vernny*, who had a private Interest in the taking of that City, because he was Governour of that Country, and had most part of his Estate therein, or thereabout, opposed the King's Resolution; and his Obstinacy was attended with Success, for the City surrendered on the 19th of *April* after having held out for three Months together; which Success was particularly owing to the Bravery and the ingenious Contrivances of the Count of *Coligny* (s).

1591.
Pope Gre-
gory XIV.
XLVI.
The King
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and
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It is not to be conceived how far the *Parisians* carried their Extravagancies during this Siege. On the 5th of *March* all the Preachers took for the Subject of their Sermons the History of the *Canaanitish* Woman; it was the Gospel for the Day, and said that that Woman represented the City of *Paris*; her Daughter, that of *Chartres*; the Devil who tormented her was the *BE ARNESH* who besieged this last City; they exhorted and intreated their Hearers to beseech earnestly the Lord for the Deliverance of that poor City, which was tormented by the Devil. On the 15th of *April* the Faculty of Divinity published a Vow to walk in Procession to *Our Lady's* Church at *Chartres*, if the City was not taken; for if it was taken, her Credit was at an end: She would be deemed a Po-

(s) Mezeray, Henry IV. p. 50. Hist. des Choses memo-
rables, p. 736.

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(t) L'Etoile Mem. pour servir a l'Hist. de *France*,
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 haust their Substance in the pursuit of this War.
 But their Intention is very plain, they want
 to be Arbiters that they might re-unite all the
 Catholicks, as much as they can, under the
 same pretence, for offering Violence to his Ma-
 jesty as to his Religion, whenever they shall
 think proper. Which presupposes likewise
 some Underdealings and Intelligencies with the
 Enemies, quite intolerable. For if they have
 none, why! what can they do in that Business
 better than others? And if they know therein
 any thing better than others, why did they not

Henry IV.
 1591.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIV.

Henry IV lay it open before his Majesty that he might improve their Light, seeing that they have a
 1591. very free access to him, nay, some of them are
 Pope Gre- chief Members of his Privy Council.
 gory XIV.

It must be added that while that Assembly sat at *Chartres* the Decree of the Parliament against the *Pope*, his *Bull*, and *Landriano*, Bearer thereof, could not be published in that City; nay, they sent positive Orders to the Lieutenant General not to do it; whereof the Parliament doth complain the more justly, in as much as their Decree ought to have been published chiefly there, where the King's Council reside.

It is very observable that the King's faithful Servants, making the greatest Number in that Assembly, they would have carried their point by a Majority of Votes, to prevent which, the Heads of the contrary Party thought proper to admit the voting by Proxy, so that a single Person voted for six or seven Absentees; tho' in Assemblies of that nature wherein they had to deliberate upon Affairs of so great Importance, and whereupon they ought to receive Instruction and Light one of another, Proxies cannot be admitted: for it is plain that in such a case wherein every body is concerned, one may alter or reform his own Opinion, and model it upon another's, whereas a Procuration is mute, incapable of giving or receiving any Instruction.

Moreover, the Decree of the Parliament having been brought forth, they said that they had no Value for it, as being done in an Assembly wherein 26 Hereticks had a Right to vote. And nevertheless several Members of that Court were in the Orders, (they call them in *French*, *Conseillers Clercs*;) they added that
 the

the Canons of *St. Martin* at *Tours* had deputed Henry IV.
an Heretick, so they stiled Mr. *De St. Fuscian* ^{1591.}
Counsellor Clerk, Brother to the late Mr. *D'Es-* ^{Pope Gre-}
peffes, Canon of *Our Lady's Church* at *Paris*. ^{gory XIV.}

Furthermore, all the Archbishops and Bishops sent word to all the Curates of their respective Dioceses and Provinces; that they praised God for the good Success of their Assemblies, that the Holy Ghost had presided therein, to the Preservation and Welfare of the *Catholic, Apostolick and Roman Church*; they sent to them the Articles above mentioned, whereby many scrupulous People were troubled in their own Conscience, and distracted from their Allegiance to the King, questioning what is unquestionable, *That the King holds his Authority from God, and not from the Pope* (u).

Du Pleffis was hard at work to prevent the Mischief that would have resulted from that bold Attempt of the Clergy, had they had the desired Success. He not only sent the above-mentioned Observations to the King, but he sent likewise a Memorial very full upon the same Subject to the Parliament of *Tours*, who received and read it with a great deal of Satisfaction. They desired him to come into that City, and to concur with them for finding ways and means of frustrating the ambitious Designs of the Clergy. Which he did, and it was agreed to advise His Majesty to protract the time as much as he could for answering their Demands, and when he could not delay any longer, to answer them in such a manner that they might understand how little pleased he was with their Proceedings and Petitions.

Accordingly

(u) *Memoires de Du Pleffis*, Tom. II. p. 117—121.

Henry IV. Accordingly, when the Cardinal of Bourbon
 1590. attended by the Bishops of *Beauvais, Mans, Angers, &c.* came on the 18th of *December* to de-
 Pope Gre- fire his Majesty to answer the three Articles
 gory XIV. proposed unto him by their Assembly, viz. (1) to turn Catholick; (2) to consent that the Clergy should interpose in making Peace; (3) that they might depute to the *Pope*; he answered as to the first,

LII. That he was always ready to receive Instruc-
The King's tion, that he prayed God every day to en-
Answer. lighten him, if he was in the wrong; and was in hopes that he would give him grace to put an end to the Controversies in the Church, whenever he shall be at rest: Which would be much more honourable and commendable, than to depart alone from a Religion wherein he was born and had been brought up. But that since his Accession to the Crown, it had been his Misfortune to be continually, as he was still, distracted by the Business of the War, which gave him no respite; and that in truth, the Canons of the Church could not be well hearkened to amidst the noise of the Cannons of an Arsenal. Nevertheless, that he will always maintain the Clergy in every thing he had promised them, and that he would not do nor suffer to be done any thing contrary to it.

As to the second, That God and Men may witness the Truth, that he desired nothing more than Peace; and had let slip no occasion for obtaining it, even he had oftentimes taken the Shadow thereof for the Reality; that he did not mince it, as some who scrupled to speak the first, lest they should prejudice their own Affairs; contrariwise he shall be always before-hand, and shall look upon any Overture of Peace as a special Favour of God. And those

those who thought otherwise of him, wronged ^{Henry I} him much, and took him not only for a bad ^{1591.} Prince, but for a Duncce, since it was certain ^{Pope Gregory XI} that no body was so deeply concerned therein as he was, considering that he would be a Loser in the War, one whose House is in flames; and who could not be a King, but as he was in Peace with his Subjects; whereas during the War, he was no better than Captain-General of the *French*, every one encroaching as much as he could upon Royal Authority.

As to the third, He told them, that it was an Affair of State very important, and not an ecclesiastical one only. That the late Pope (*he meant Gregory XIV. who was dead when he delivered this Answer*) had not dealt with him and the Kingdom as a common Father, as he ought, but as a foreign Prince and an Enemy. That the present Pope, (*Innocent IX.*) had gone on and sent the Army, which the last had raised, for the same purpose, and promised to recruit it with Men and Money, as it was plain by his intercepted Letters. That his Reputation was concerned not to suffer his Subjects to go and court him at *Rome*, while he did him all the harm he could. Besides that the Resolutions of his Parliaments differed widely from the Clergy's, the first forbidding expressly to send to *Rome* upon any account soever; That he had sent for the first Presidents of his Parliaments of *Paris* and *Rouën* sitting at *Tours* and *Louviers*, that he might know their Advice thereupon. And whereas the Duke of *Parma* was entering the Kingdom with his Army, several Princes and Officers of the Crown, Lords and Knights of the Realm, would not fail to join with him, (the King;) and that the
more

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Henry IV. more weighty the Affair was, the more it required to be debated in the most solemn Assembly. Therefore he advised them to repair in the mean while to their respective Dioceses, there to serve God and their King, &c.

1591.
Pope Gregory XIV

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* gave several Assurances of his own and the whole Clergy's Obedience and Affection, the Bishop of *Mans* did the same; they insisted again upon the Embassy to *Rome*; but His Majesty stood his ground. The said Cardinal then took his leave of His Majesty that same Morning, and went to *Gailon* for *Christmas Holidays*, from whence he returned to the King then besieging *Rouën* (*).

These Transactions, which I chuse to relate all in a Thread, shew forth plainly the Spirit of the *Roman* Clergy, and how ready they are to sacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Subjects, to the vile Passions of the Court of *Rome*.

LIII.
The Duke of Guise's Escape.

During these Assemblies of the Clergy, the young Duke of *Guise* made his Escape out of the Tower of *Tours*, where he had been closely confined since the Death of his Father at *Blois*. It is said that the King had connived at it, in order to create greater Jealousies amongst the Heads of the Leaguers, not questioning in the least but the sight of that Prince would revive in his behalf the former Inclinations the People had had for his Father; and indeed if such was the King's Design, and if he had any hand at all in that Escape, he was not deceived in his Expectation. Bonfires and other Demonstrations of Joy were seen in all Places holding for the *League* throughout the Kingdom, as soon as the News of his Liberty came to be known; the

(*) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 126, 27, 28. 131, 2, 3.

the Pope went in Procession to *St. Lewis's* Henry I Church at *Rome* to give thanks to God for that happy Deliverance, and we shall see in its proper Place that nothing forwarded so much the King's Interest as the Jealousies between the Duke of *Mayenne* and that of *Guise* his Nephew.

The Prince of *Dombes* Son to the Duke of *Montpensier* was obliged to raise the Siege of *Lamballe* in *Britanny*, which had lasted 25 Days; the Lord of *La Nouë* died of a Wound he had received in it, equally regretted by Foes and Friends, as we have said in our third Volume and first Part, pag. 267. But a few days after the same Prince routed the Duke of *Merceur's* Cavalry.

On the 17th of *August* the King took *Noyon*, in *Picardy* in the Duke of *Mayenne's* fight. Three Bodies of Troops which he had sent to relieve that Place were totally routed.

On the other hand, the Lord of *Les Diguieres* performed Wonders in *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, he routed the Duke of *Savoy* in two pitched Battles, the first at *St. Martin of Pallieres*, or *Sparron* according to others, because the Rear of the Enemy's Army was lodged in the first Place, and their Van in the second, where the Duke lost about 600 Horse, almost all his Infantry, with most part of his Cannon and Baggage. The second Battle was near *Pont-Cbarra*, the 6th or 7th of *September*; the Enemy was twice the Number of *Les Diguieres*, nevertheless they were totally routed, and lost about 5000 Men, slain on the spot, 900 Prisoners, 32 Pair of Colours, one Standard, a Cornet, and their Artillery; the Booty was very great, it amounted to above 200000 Crowns, which were divided equally amongst the Soldiers; the Royalists had but 40 Men slain, and very few wounded.

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Henry IV. all the Princes of the Blood, and had forced all
 1591. the Recusants to quit the City, amongst whom
 Pope Inno- was their own Bishop, Cardinal of *Gondy*. For
 cent IX. being absolute Masters of *Paris*, they wanted
 only to be rid of a part of the Parliament, who
 watched over them Night and Day, and
 thwarted their wicked Designs. They succeed-
 ed in their Attempt, but it cost them very
 dear, even the loss of the Lives of several of
 them, and the utter Extinction of their Au-
 thority.

The Parliament had acquitted one *Brigard*,
 whom the *Sixteen* had impeached for keeping
 Correspondence with the Royalists: the most
 passionate amongst them resolved to be dread-
 fully revenged upon some of the Heads of the
 Parliament, who had exerted themselves most in
 behalf of the Prisoner; for which purpose they
 created a secret Council of ten, which they
 chose amongst themselves, who were to have
 the Direction of the most important Affairs.
 That Council thought proper to dispatch out of
 the World, President *Briffon*, Counsellors *Lar-*
cher and *Tardif*. They attempted at first to
 have them murdered by some Assassines, but
 having missed their end, the Plot having been
 revealed by the Assassines themselves, they re-
 solved to act more openly. Accordingly they
 drew up a Sentence of Death against those three,
 wherewith they filled up a Blank, wherein they
 had procured, upon some other pretence, the
 Signatures of several notable Citizens. Which
 done, they seized them in several Places, and
 brought them to the little *Chastelet*, where they
 strangled them all, and the next Night they
 caused their Bodies to be carried to the *Greve*,
 where they remained hanging for two Days.
 They had expected that the People would have
 approved

*President
 Briffon
 and two
 Counsellors
 hanged at
 Paris.*

approved their Inhumanity, for which purpose ^{Henry IV.} they had spread many false Reports to blacken ^{1592.} the deceased's Memory; but when they under- ^{Peplano-} stood that such a sight worked out Compassion and ^{cent IX.} Pity in their Hearts rather than Indignation, they began to be sensible of the Odioufness of their Crime, and to dread the Consequences thereof. Therefore some of them were for arresting the Duchess of *Nemours*, Mother to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that she might be a Pledge against her own Son's Resentment; others had a mind to complete the Tragedy, and to murder the said Duke if he ventured to come to *Paris*, and then to elect another Chief of their own, that should be entirely their Dependant. But their Hearts failed them, and having perpetrated a Crime without Necessity, they knew not how to commit a second which was necessary for covering the first.

The Parliament, the Princesses, the Royalists themselves, feigned to be zealous Leaguers, and warmly insisted with the Duke, who was then at *Laon*, to come to *Paris* to deliver them from that Tyranny: but he did not think proper to yield so soon to their Importunities; he supposed that the *Sixteen* would not have attempted such a horrible Crime, were they not strongly supported by the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Guise*, and was afraid lest their Cabal should be powerful enough to exclude him. However, understanding they wanted Courage, and that no body was stirring for their Support, (at least openly) he took with him 300 Horse and 1500 Foot, and marched directly to *Paris*.

He was met by a Company of them headed by *Beaucher* Curate of *St. Benoist*, who was to speak for them, but he proceeded further without giving them Audience. Another Company

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Henry IV. met him, and deliberated to murder him, nay, ^{1592.} one of them offered his Services for that purpose, but was not accepted. When the Duke ^{Pope Innocent IX.} had informed himself about the State of Affairs at *Paris*, he sent Orders to *Bussy Le Clerc* to resign unto him the Government of *Bastille*: that *Hector* had not Resolution enough either to offer to defend himself, or to declare for the King, he compounded with the Duke, and nevertheless he went out with Drums beating, and Colours flying; but he took no care to secure a Place of Safety, and went to lodge with all his Booty in *St. Anthony's Street*.

Four of the Few Days after, when the *Sixteen* thought *SIXTEEN* themselves very safe, having understood that *hanged at* the Parliament did not dare to enter an Action *Paris.* against them, the Duke on a sudden drew up with his own hand a Sentence of Death against nine of the most guilty amongst them, and sent in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *December* to arrest them. Only four of them could be apprehended, namely, *Anroux*, *Emmonet*, *Ameline*, and *Louchard*; they were brought into the *Louvre*, and instantly hanged on a Gibbet erected for that purpose, by the Common Hangman; the five others took to flight, and after having remained concealed for some Days, they retired into the *Low Countries*. As to *Bussy*, one of them, he narrowly escaped, but he could not carry off any thing of all the Booty which he had got by Plunder, and other wicked Means. He went to *Bruxelles* with his Wife, where he lived to a very great Age, for he was alive in the Year 1634.

As to the other seven which remained out of the *Sixteen*, the Duke willing to put a Blur upon them, sent a Deed of Abolition of their past Crimes, to be read and published in the Parliament;

Parliament; and whereas he knew that all the ^{Henry IV.} Mischiefs they had done proceeded from their ^{1592.} secret Assemblies, he forbid the same on pain ^{Pope Innocent IX.} of death, and the razing the House wherein they should meet together. So that potent Faction, who had so much beloved the Duke of *Guise*, and had almost raised him to the Throne, was in an Instant dishonoured and almost subverted by his own Brother. Which was indeed a lucky Event for the King, with whom it was impossible that they should ever agree.

The Duke wrote to all the Governours of Provinces to justify his Proceedings, and to render that Faction detestable; and in order to keep the said Governours more strictly united to him, he obliged them to swear that they would never forsake him; that they would never support the Election of a King without his Consent; that they would approve of any Treaty he should make with any body soever, and that they would keep no private Correspondence with the *Spaniards*. At the same time, the Parliament of *Paris* being wholly destitute of Presidents, he created four new ones, which he took to be better affected to his Person and Administration; but this proved to be his Ruin (b).

We have said, that at Queen *Elizabeth's* In- LVIII. stances the King had sent the Marshal of *Biron* ^{Siege of} to surround *Rouën*. That City was very well ^{Rouën.} provided with every Thing, well fortified, and fully resolved to hold out to the last extremity, the King arrived at his Camp before that Place on the 1st of *December*. On the 31st of *October* the Troops, which Queen *Elizabeth*

(b) L'Etoile Mem. pour servir a l'Hist de France, Tom. II. p. 55, &c. He was then at *Paris* when these things happened. De Serres Invent. de l'Hist. de France Tom. II. p. 16. D'Avila and D'Aubigné say almost the same, but Thuan. lib. cii. differs a little from them all.

Henry IV. sent to the King's Assistance on account of that
 1591.
 Pope Inno- Siege, had landed at *Bologne*, consisting of
 cent IX. 600 Horse, and 2500 Foot under the Com-
 mand of the Earl of *Essen*. They were receiv'd
 by the Duke of *Longueville*, and having joined
 the King's Army on the 10th of *November*,
 they began the Siege on *St. Martin's Day*;
 the *English* had storm'd a little before a Gate
 of *Rouën* called *La Porte Cauchaise*; wherein
Edward Devereux Nephew to the Earl was
 slain (c). I shall not enter into the Particulars
 of

(c) *Tindal* says that it was *Walter* Brother to the Earl,
 and he quotes *Stow*, p. 762. *Rapin's History of England*,
 Tom. II. fol. p. 140. the Note. There are several Mis-
 takes in *Rapin's* Relation of the State of Affairs in *France*
 at that Time; as when he says that *Sixtus V.* supported the
 Designs of *Spain* upon *France* to the utmost of his Power,
 pag. 139. that is utterly false, he died much embittered a-
 gainst the Court of *Spain* and the *Leagueurs*. In the same
 Paragraph, he charges our *Henry* with Insincerity in his
 Dealings with Queen *Elizabeth*, and speaks of him, just
 as if he had designedly laid a snare for her Majesty; in-
 deed either *Rapin* knew little of *Henry's* Character, or he
 was very little acquainted with his Circumstances at that
 time. No Prince in the World had been more strict to his
 Word; that was his favourite, and most conspicuous Vir-
 tue, acknowledged even by his greatest Enemies: but
 then it was not always in his power to perform what he had
 thought before he should be able to perform; especially at
 the Time we are speaking of, when his Designs were so
 many times thwarted not only by his Enemies, but by his
 greedy Courtiers. In another Paragraph of the same Page,
 he says, that when the Earl landed in *France* with the
 Supply, the King was employed before *Noyon*. But ac-
 cording to *Tbuanus*, *Noyon* was surrendered before the 26th
 of *September*, and the Earl landed but the 31st of *October*
 following, at *Boloign*. Finally, *Rapin* says in the same Page,
 that the Earl went to *France* for the second time, contrary
 to the Queen's express Orders. To be sure it was against
 her own Inclination, but not against her express Orders,
 that cannot be, since she gave him leave to take a Regi-
 ment of the old Troops in *Flanders*; and *Rapin* would have
 done better to have been silent upon that point, or to lay
 full open the true Motives of that great Queen's Behaviour
 on this Occasion, than to asperse the Character of King
Henry without the least Foundation.

of that memorable Siege, but only take notice of some of the most remarkable Transactions, while it lasted.

Henry IV.
1592.
Pope Innocent IX.

Pope *Innocent*, the great Support of the *League*, who had promised them fifty thousand Crowns a Month for six Months time, as soon as the Duke of *Parma* should have entered the Kingdom with his Army, died on the 29th of *December* in the seventy-second Year of his Age, having held the See but two Months. Cardinal *Hyppolite Aldobrandini* was elected on the 30th of *January* after, and took the Name of *Clement VIII*,

LIX.
Innocent's Death, and succeeded by Clement VIII.

The King being arrived before *Rouën*, had summoned that City to surrender, for which purpose he had sent a Trumpet to the Mayor with a Letter exhorting them to improve the present Opportunity for experiencing his Clemency, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the *Spaniards* and others, Enemies of the State; nor to believe what they falsely published, that he intended to extirpate the *Catholic* Religion, that such Calumnies were furnished only to distract them from their true Interest, and to gratify more easily their own Ambition, after having destroyed them one by another; that they ought rather to consider how those who had submitted themselves had been dealt with, and put themselves in a Condition of receiving of him the like Favours. Otherwise they would force him to make use of the most severe Methods, &c.

LX.
The King summons Rouën, but in vain.

But far from hearkening to the King's Exhortations, they sent him the most impudent Letter that could be written; nay, whereas some Officers and some Citizens were discovered keeping Correspondence with his Majesty, after having put them to death, the Parliament

Henry IV. published a Decree on the 7th of *January* forbidding on pain of death every one of what Rank and Quality soever to favour in any wise the Party of *Henry of Bourbon*; ordering them to desist instantly, commanding Gibbets should be erected in the publick Places of that City, there to hang and strangle without any other form of Tryal whomsoever shall be found plotting against their own Country, and 2000 Crowns are promised to the Informers thereof, and forgiveness of their Crimes if they have been Accomplices therein. The Oath of Union taken on the 12th of *January* 1589, shall be renewed every Month, &c. injoining expressly all the Inhabitants to obey all the Commands of the Lord of *Villars*, Deputy Governour of my Lord *Henry of Lorraine*, in all things concerning the Preservation of this City, &c. The same Parliament had given heretofore several like Instances of their Rebellion during the Life of *Henry III.* and after his death, and had executed several Officers in the King's Party, tho' they were Prisoners of War.

Secondly, The King having certain Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was entering into *France* with his Army, sent *Launoy* to demand a new Supply of 5000 Men of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Troops which he had sent before, being extremely diminished by Sicknes or otherwise. About the same time the Earl of *Essex*, knowing that the King was arrived before *Rouën*, was gone over to be present at that Siege, he went much against the Queen's Will; in order to deter him from the Voyage, her Majesty refused him to raise any new Levies in *England*, but had given him leave to take a Regiment out of the old Regiments in Garison in *Flanders*, which was paid upon the footing of
of

of 1000 Men, tho' there was not above 700 ^{Henry IV.} effective, but all of them old brave Soldiers in a ^{1592.} very good Condition. The Queen was so dis- ^{Pope Cle-} pleased with the Earl's Absence, that she returned ^{ment VIII.} a very rough Answer to the *French* Embassador, (*Beauvais La Nocle*) who presented *Launoy's* Memorial to her Majesty, and flatly denied the demanded Supply. The King understanding that *Parma* was actually in full March, sent *Miremont* one of his Chaplains, and some Days after *Du Plessis Mornay*, to her Majesty; he landed at *Rye*, where he met *Miremont* returning into *France* without any Success.

Du Plessis arrived at *London* the 4th of *January* N. S. he had his first Audience on the 6th, being accompanied with the Embassador in ordinary, having told the Queen his Business, she betrayed too great a fondness for the Earl of *Effex*, which blinded her so much at that time, that she was insensible of her own true Interest; her Threatnings against him were most terrible, and notwithstanding the strong Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*, and of her own Ministers of State, after the third Audience, he was obliged to return without obtaining any thing; but the Earl of *Effex* being come back to *England*, he soon found means to appease the Queen; and she sent a new Supply to King *Henry* of 2000 Men, which arrived too late for being of any Service for the Siege of *Rouën*, which was raised (*d*).

Thirdly, The Duke of *Parma* being in full March with an Army of 10000 Foot, 3000 Horse, 40 Cannons, and 2000 Waggon, for carrying the Tools, Provisions, and Ammunition, was met at *Landrecy* by the Duke of *Guise*, and at *Guise* by *Mayenne*. Their Forces

(*d*) Mem. de *Du Plessis Mornay*, Tom. II. p. 134—186.

Henry IV. joined together, made up 15000 Foot and above 6000 Horse.

1592.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII.

The three Dukes held a Conference at *Guise*, and *Parma* feigning an Unwillingness to proceed any further if he had not some Place where to secure his Artillery, *Mayenne* was forced to give him *La Fere* for that purpose, where *Parma* put 400 Men in Garrison. But that was not all, for *Diego D'Ibarra*, Embassador from *Spain*, opened his Master's Intentions, that he required the Crown of *France* for the *Infante* his Daughter, promising to marry her with some *French* Prince. (*It was no more than what he had been offered last Year by the SIXTEEN, as above said.*) Several Conferences were held between the Ministers of *Spain* and *Mayenne*. *Jeannin* was the Chief of the last, he endeavoured to elude the Question, opposing several weighty Considerations, especially the General Estates which were to be held shortly, then the vast Sums of Money for supporting the War, at least for two Years longer. (Two millions five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling a Year were asked for that purpose.) But the *Spaniards* granted without difficulty all his Demands, and promised further the greatest Advantages for the Duke of *Mayenne*; so that that Prince having nothing more to say, was put to his last shift, viz. to dissemble and spin out the Time (e).

Fourthly, The King knowing that they were marching, marched himself out of his Camp before *Rouën*, with 3000 Horse by the latter end of *January*, in order to meet them. at his coming he beat up the Duke of *Guise's* Quarters which were in the Van, near *Alberville*. He coped with the Enemy for three Weeks together.

(e) Thuan. lib. cii. p. 203, 204, &c.

together; but at last, he was very near being surrounded, and was wounded in the back with Pistol-shot at *Aumale*, where he endeavoured to keep a *Desfilé*. His Presence of Mind, his Courage, the darkness of the Night that came on, and above all the Almighty God's Providence delivered him from the greatest Danger he had ever been in, in his whole Life; and if he was blamed for having exposed himself like a *Carabineer*, he was highly commended for having extricated himself like a great Captain.

Fifthly, But his Absence was very prejudicial to his Camp before *Rouën*. No Order or Discipline was kept in it; as soon as he was gone, the Besieged came out frequently, walked in the Camp, took notice of every thing, and made their Reports to *Villars*, who commanded in the City, no strict watch was kept in the most dangerous Places, every one did what he pleased, and the greatest Confusion reigned there. The Marshal of *Biron* was at *Dernetal*, and besides that he could not be present every where, his private Interest and Inclinations did not oblige him to such a Strictness as was requisite in like Occasions. *Villars* improving that Opportunity, and having exhorted the Citizens to mind their Duty, made a Sally upon the Besiegers on the 26th of February with 20000 Men, Inhabitants and others, wherein he was so successful that he made a Slaughter of all that he met in his way, or put them to flight; he burnt Tents, and Huts, destroyed the Works, filled up the Trenches, fired the Gunpowder, carried away five large Cannons, and nailed up the others. They were Masters of that Quarter (*namely before St. Catherine's Fort*) till the Arrival of *Biron*, who came from *Dernetal* with the Nobility attended

Henry IV.
1592.
Pope Clement VIII.

Henry IV. by the *Switzers* and *Lanskenets*. He engaged them without *Reconnoitre*, but their Horse stood their ground, to give time to their Foot to retreat. *Biron* was wounded in the Thigh with a Musket-shot, the Royalists had 500 slain, and 100 carried Prisoners into the City, most of whom were Persons of Distinction.

1592.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII.

Sixthly, The three Dukes received that News just when they had resolved in their Council to march all the Night, and to attack on the next Day, the Quarter of *Dernetal*. The Jealousies of the Duke of *Mayenne* did not allow them to improve that Success, so that they were contented to throw only a Supply of 800 Men into the Place; which done, they retreated, and crossed the *Somme* with their Army.

Seventhly, Notwithstanding all their Rejoicings for a Fortnight together, the Inhabitants found themselves after all reduced to such a strait for want of Provisions, that *Villars* sent word to *Mayenne* that he should be forced to capitulate with the King, was he not relieved by the 20th of *March*. Whereupon the Dukes crossed again the *Somme*, and came three Leagues distant from *Rouën* upon the Day appointed. The King intended to give them battle, but seeing the bad Condition his Troops were in, he chose rather to raise the Siege about the middle of *April*. The same Reasons as above hindered them from attacking the King to their advantage; *Mayenne* and *Monte Marciano* obliged *Parma* to besiege *Caudebec*, which he took without much ado; then he insisted upon the taking of *Yvetot*, in order to cover *Caudebec*. That Place was very bad for them; they were not a long time in it before the King cut off their Army's Provisions, and having taken his

his Quarters between *L'Islebonne* and their ^{Henry IV.} Camp, he annoyed them by continual Skirmishes, having been worsted in several, and ^{1592. Pope Clement VIII.} considering that they could be forced in that Place, they dislodged without Trumpet or Drum in the Night-time, and came near *Cau-debec*; but they were no better there than in the former Place, they wanted Provisions and even Water, their Troops were ruined thro' Sick-ness; the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, with the renowned *George Baste* who commanded their Horse, were obliged to keep to their Beds; the first for a Musket-Shot he had received in his Arm at *Cau-debec*; the second for an old venereal Disease whereof he had not been well cured; the third was sick with a double *Quartan* Ague. Besides that, the Marshal of *Biron* gave them no rest, he took one Quarter of their Light Horse, with the Military Chest destined for the Payment of their Army. It was publicly said, nay, he was told by his own Son, that if he had charged them as briskly as he could, he would easily have routed the whole Army. But his Ambition did not allow him to put an end to the War so soon, lest he should not have so many occasions for gratifying his Passion.

The great Danger wherein *Parma* saw his Army exposed, obliged him to make a Retreat which was no less glorious to him than any of his former Feats, seeing that he dislodged from that Place, in the King's presence, without being perceived by him. His Majesty sent to pursue him; about 500 Foot, which, thro' their great Fatigue and Weariness, could not follow the Army, were surpris'd and surrendred themselves. But the Duke marched with such a Diligence, that in four Days he arrived from *Cau-debec*

Henry IV. *debec* at *Charenton*, 35 Leagues, and thought himself not safe till he had reached the Province of *Brie* in *Champaign*. *Mayenne* went to *Rouën* to be cured there of his Disease, and was dangerously ill.

LXI. After the raising of the Siege of *Rouën*, most part of the King's Army marched into *Champaign*, and besieged *Espernay*, which they took. The Marshal of *Biron* was killed there by a Cannon-Ball, which shot off his Head. That Marshal's Death was a great Loss to the King, he was reputed one of the greatest Captains and Politicians of his Age, born of a most ancient and noble Family in *Gascony*; he had been brought up Page to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, the King's Grand-Mother, and had received some Tincture of the Reformed Religion: he passed through all the Degrees of the Military Art, and distinguished himself by his Prudence and an uncommon Bravery; his great Reading, and continual Application rendered him capable of the Places of the greatest Trust, and of the Management of Affairs that required the most exquisite Parts. He was very well shaped, of a very strong Constitution, having lived to the sixty-eighth Year, without being sick, or otherwise indisposed but by the Wounds he received on many occasions; he was a great Eater, facetious in his Conversation, profuse in his Expence, very liberal. One day his Steward told him, that he ought to dismiss out of his Service several People that were useless to him, and increased his Expence. *Well, says he, Master, you say right, they are useless unto me, but pray inquire of themselves whether I am useless unto them, and whether they have a mind to leave my Service?* He slept but very little, and was used after his first slumber to dictate to his

his Secretary, who lay constantly at the foot of his Bed, whatever he was to do the next day, what Orders he was to give to the Officers of the Army, &c. then he fell asleep again, and when he was awakened, he got up out of his Bed, and examined what he had dictated before to his Secretary, and made what Alterations and Improvements he thought proper; such were his good Qualifications. As to the bad ones, he was much self-conceited, very proud, and much more passionate; and whereas his Family Estate, nor even his Salaries could not afford the Expences his Profuseness put him to, he was obliged to make use of other Means very little agreeable to the Character of an upright Man, especially he did not improve his Advantages over the Enemy so much as he could have done, in order to render himself necessary by protracting the War as much as he was able. *Brantome* one of his own near Relations, and one of his greatest Admirers, tells us, that it was said, that after the raising of the Siege of *Rouën*, and when *Parma* was still at *Candebac*, his Son desired the King to give him only 4000 choice Men, Horse and Foot, with whom he promised to rout intirely the Enemy's Army. The thing was very feasible for many good Reasons, but his Father opposed him with all his Might, and told him when apart, *Why Biron! don't you see if you go on that way, the King will no longer stand in need of us, and that we shall be obliged to go back to the Castle of Biron, and plant Cabbages there.* How many *BIRONS* have been in the World since that time, and will be still (*f*)?

The

(*f*) *Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau*, Tom. II. p. 106, 107, &c. *Thuan. lib. ciii.* p. 218. *Brantome Vie d'Armand Gontaud de Biron.*

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Henry IV. The King had had a greater Loss by the
^{1592.} latter end of the last Year in the Person of
Pope Cle- Count of *Chatillon*, Son to the late Admiral,
ment VIII. who died with a Fever caused by a great dis-

LXII. content. He was a young Lord about 31 Years
The Count old of the brightest Parts, and the greatest
Chatil- Hopes, civil, courteous, expert in every thing
lon's which concerns the Military Art, especially Ma-

Death and thematics, a great Engineer. It was by his
Character. contrivance that *Chartres* was taken; he was
 Admiral of *Guienne*, and when he died he was
 about advancing with great Application the Na-
 vigation in the *West Indies*. The King was
 deeply affected with that Loss, and so much
 the more when he heard that his Fever had pro-
 ceeded from Grief, for some rash Words which
 his Majesty had inconsiderately spoken unto
 him, out of Impatience at the Siege of *Chartres*,
 from whence that Lord had inferred, that his
 Services were no longer agreeable to the King.
 He died at his Castle of *Chatillon* upon
Loir (g).

LXIII. *Francis Duke of Montpensier* died likewise at
The Duke *Lisseux* on the 2d of *June*, being not yet fifty
of Mont- Years old. He was a Prince of great Courage,
pensier's very loyal to the King, his only Son *Henry* of
Death. *Bourbon* Prince of *Dombes* succeeded him in his
 Titles, Honours, Dignities and Riches, as
 well as in his Government of *Normandy*.

LXIV. After the taking of *Espernay*, the Royal
Taking of Army marched into *Brie*, and besieged *Pro-*
Espernay vins, the chief City of that Province, which
and Pro- surrendered on the 5th of *September*, after a
vins, &c. few days Siege. Then the King built a Fort
 at *Gornay* upon the *Marne* to stop the passage
 of Provisions that go down that River to *Paris*,
 and

(g) Thuan. lib. cii. p. 199 L'Etoile Mem. pour
 servir a l'Histoire de France, Tom. II. p. 66.

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and he trusted *Odet de La Nouë*, Son to the *Henry IV.*
Lord Francis de La Noue Iron-Arm, with the ^{1592.}
 Guard thereof. *Pope Clement VIII.*

While the King was before *Rouën*, *Nicholas Fumée* Bishop of *Beauvais* was come to the ^{LXV.}
 Camp, in the name of the Clergy that were ^{The Clergy}
 in the King's Party, to intreat his Majesty ^{renew}
 to turn Catholick, and grant them leave to ^{their In-}
 send a Deputation to the *Pope* without offend- ^{stances to}
 ing the Parliament, who by their late Act had
 forbidden all manner of correspondence with
Rome, as abovesaid. The King took the Mat-
 ter of that Petition to be of such Consequence,
 that it could not be resolved without the Con-
 currence of his Parliament setting at *Tours*.
 Therefore he sent for the first President *Achilles*
du Harlay and three other Presidents, who being
 come to the Camp, the Matter was debated
 before his Majesty in his Council. They most
 humbly but earnestly intreated him not to con-
 sent to such a Deputation, whereby the Par-
 liament's Authority would be made void. *Rey-*
naud de Beaune Archbishop of *Bourges*, who
 had succeeded *Amiot* in the great Almonry of
France, was then present, and was thought to
 support the Parliament in their Demand for
 settling a Discipline in *France*, for regulating the
 Ecclesiastical Affairs, without the Pope med-
 dling with them; he was in hopes, as his En-
 mies gave it out, that he himself, who by his
 Quality was already Patriarch of *France*, would
 be chosen to be at the Head of the Bishops in
 things relating to Dispensations, and Collation
 of Benefices, as long as the Schism should last
 in the Kingdom. Cardinal of *Lenoncour* had
 been thought to have aspired to the same Dig-
 nity, for which Cause he had been traduced
 and very ill used at the Court of *Rome*, and
 had

Henry IV. had died with Grief at *Blois* a few Months before.

1592. Now every one had his Eyes upon the Arch-
 Pope Cle-
 ment VIII. bishop as the properest Man for that high
 Office. And indeed the King's Council would
 have proceeded further, had not Cardinal of
Bourbon interposed, out of jealousy, because
 he not being a Priest, he was incapable of holding
 the said Office.

Therefore to avoid all Jealousies, another
 Method was proposed, and admitted, whereby
 every Bishop or Archbishop that followed the
 King's Party was to act in the Capacity of a
 Patriarch in his own Diocese; and if there hap-
 pened any Vacancy by Death or Deprivation,
 the Authority was devolved to the Archbishop
&c. (b).

LXVI.
*A Deputa-
 tion sent
 to Rome.*

The King being at *Argentueil*, at the In-
 stances of Cardinal of *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris*,
 who was going to *Rome* and had offered his
 Services to his Majesty, and at the Intrextion of
 the Bishops that followed his Court, he was at
 last prevailed on, to suffer that an Embassy should
 be sent to the Pope in the Name of the Prince,
 Bishops and other Lords that adhered to his
 Party, for desiring his Holiness to receive him
 into his Favour. The Marquis of *Pisani*, who
 had been formerly Embassador at *Rome*, was
 named for that purpose; the Senate of *Venice* was
 to join their good Offices for that purpose. The
 Cardinal and the Marquis set out in *October*,
 they passed almost through all the Cities that
 held for the King, and having crossed the *Alps*,
 the Marquis stayed at *Desenzano* upon the Lake
 of *Garda* in the *Venetian* Territory, and the Car-
 dinal proceeded on his Journey to *Rome*, hav-
 ing sent his Secretary before, in order to blot
 out the Reports which the *Spanish* Faction had
 raised

raised against him; which however had made Henry IV. such an Impression upon the Pontiff, that when he heard of the Cardinal's coming to Rome, he dispatched instantly *Alexander Franceschini* a Dominican Fryar, with very sharp Orders, forbidding him Entrance into the Ecclesiastical Territories, because, said he, in the Affairs of France he had behaved himself neither like a good Cardinal, nor a good Christian; he enumerated all his pretended Faults, which were rather as many Instances of the Spaniards Wickedness, and of the Pontiff's Pride, than any thing else.

Franceschini having delivered his Charge to the Cardinal, his Eminence returned a suitable Answer, and after having declared that all the things that were laid to his charge were intirely groundless and false, one excepted, viz. that he had conferred with the King of Navarre; (so the King of France was stiled by the least passionate Leaguers) he set forth the wicked Designs of the Spaniards, the boundless Ambition of the Heads of the League, who aimed at nothing else but the utter Ruin of the Kingdom under a false Pretence of Religion, &c. He apologized afterwards for his Behaviour and shewed forth that he had done nothing unworthy his Character as a Bishop of Paris and a Cardinal, and inveighed against the Cardinal of Plaisance the Pope's Legate at Paris, who had been against his Journey to Rome, only because he was afraid lest he should inform his Holiness of the true State of Affairs, &c.

That Answer mollified the Pope a little, he granted the Cardinal leave to come into the City provided he would not support underhand the Hereticks nor their Favourers, and that he should do penance for the little Regard he

Henry IV. had paid to Pope Gregory XIVth's Or
^{1592.}
 1592. wherewith the Cardinal complied, and
 Pope Cle- henceforward very serviceable to the King
 ment VIII

It would be too tedious to relate the Open
 LXVII. of the two Parties in other Provinces, and
 State of various Succes: In *Poitou, Languedoc,*
 the two *vence and Dauphiné* the Leaguers were wo
 Parties. every where; but they were not always so
 fortunate: *Vienne* in *Dauphiné* was take
 the Duke of *Nemours* thro' the Treacher
Scipion Maugiron Governour thereof. *Ha*
ville did the same, and delivered *Pont Au*
in Normandy to the Duke of *Mayenne*.
 Duke of *Mercaur* routed the Army of the P
 of *Conti* and *Montpensier* in *Britanny* thr
 the Misunderstanding of the two Princes,
 did not agree well together, whereby it
 pened that the Enemy's Party became
 dominant in that Province. So that the
League was weakened, it was very far from
 crushed; the greatest Cities sided still with
 it was not possible to take them by Force
 King of *Spain* and the *Pope* supported the
 not as much as they could have done, at
 sufficiently to keep them alive for a long
 But luckily for the King, Jealousies, Mist
 and Divisions prevailed amongst the chi
 that Party. The *Spaniards* were much di
 fied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and
 Prince hated the *Spaniards*; the first had
 discovered their Intention to place their
ta upon the Throne of *France*, and to
 her with some of the *French* Princes,
 should be proposed by the States, and
 insisted warmly upon the speedy Convo
 of the said States, to resolve upon the El
 of a Catholick King. The second, seeing

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by the Pretensions of the *Spaniards*, if consent-^{Henry IV.}
 ed to, he would be deprived of his usurped Au-^{1592.}
 thority, because, being a married Man, he ^{Pope Cle-}
 could not be the Prince chosen by the States, ^{ment VIII}
 for Husband to the *Infanta*, spun out the time
 as much as he could, and seeking all means
 possible for extricating himself out of his Diffi-
 culties, he had agreed to a Conference with the
 King. *Villeroy* on his part and *Du Plessis*
Mornay on the King's, were the Persons named
 for that purpose, they agreed well enough up-
 on the general Points; the King's Instruction,
 provided it should be done in a way agreeable
 to the royal Majesty of a King of *France*, in
 six Months time after the Ratification of the pre-
 sent Treaty. That in the mean while he would
 give leave to the Catholick Princes, &c. of his
 Party to send a Deputation to the Pope; and
 in the Interim, they should treat of the Peace,
 which Treaty being concluded, His Majesty
 should be acknowledged by the Chiefs of the
 League. It was not very difficult to agree as to
 the Points concerning the League in general;
 but when they came to the Particulars, the
 Demands for each of the Chiefs were so exor-
 bitant and extravagant, tending directly not
 only to the dismembring of the Kingdom, but
 even to the rendering the Royal Authority de-
 pending on their own, that *Du Plessis*, justly of-
 fended at them, broke off the Conferences by
 the King's Orders.

They could not be held so secretly, but the
Spaniards had some scent of it, therefore to
 thwart the Duke of *Mayenne*, they offered his
 Majesty to let him enjoy the Crown peaceably,
 without requiring any thing as to his Religion,
 provided he would yield unto them *Britanny*
 and *Burgundy*. But that was not in the King's

Henry IV. power, to part with the Demefn of the Cr
 1592. so that his Privy Council rejected that Pr
 Pope Cle- ment VIII fition.

LXVIII. At last the Duke of *Mayenne*, not being
 Mayenne to do any thing worfe against the King,
summons fented to the holding of the General St
the Gene- which the *Spanish* and the Duke of *Guise's*
ral States. tions had so warmly infisted upon long ag
 full hopes that they might prevail with
 Assembly to have the *Infanta* of *Spain* ele
 and married to the said Duke. *Mayenne*
 more than once promised that Assembly,
 had always delayed the convening thereof
 feveral Pretences, wherein he was himself
 ly concerned. But after all, he could not
 stand any longer against the earnest Inst
 made by the great Cities, the *Spaniards*
Pope himself and his Legate; and the Du
Parma's Death which happened at this
 when he was preparing to enter the King
 for a third time with a strong Army, con
 ed him in his Resolution. Therefore he
 pointed that great Assembly for the Mon
January, at *Paris*, notwithstanding the
 stances of the *Spanish* Faction, who endeav
 ed to have it appointed at *Rheims*, kno
 that the Duke's Party was the strongest i
 first City.

LXIX. All this while the King was in the gr
The King's Anxieties, the THIRD PARTY received
Anxieties. day some new Addition of Strength; it
 even to be feared lest the Duke of *Ma*
 should join himself with them in order to
 a Catholick King. His Majesty and his
 faithful Servants had conceived great ho
 the Marquis of *Pisani's* Dexterity in his
 ciation with the Court of *Rome*. But
 who had the greatest ascendancy over the

would have been very sorry, had the Pope shewed Henry IV. himself tractable upon any other Terms than ^{1592.} their own, and by their Under-dealings they ^{Pope Cle-} crossed the Marquis's Negociation as much as ^{ment VIII} they could. The Clergy especially shewed themselves the stiffest. They had petitioned for leave to hold another Assembly at *Chartres* in spite of the Parliament, wherein they were resolved to petition the King to turn Catholick, threatening him, in case of a Refusal, to be forsaken by most part of the Catholicks, who would shift for themselves. Cardinal of *Bourbon* was at the bottom of all these Practices. *Du Plessis*, being informed thereof, conferred about it at *Tours* with some of the King's faithful Servants, and wrote to his Majesty to let him know that such an Address was to be presented to him. He told him, that he knew not for what purpose that Assembly was to be held, which ought to be delay'd till he had received News of the Marquis of *Pisani*. Then he advised him, if the Pope persisted in his former Resolution, to come to *Tours*, on pretence of visiting MADAME his Sister, and to come into the Parliament, to deliberate about the present posture of Affairs; that he might even be crowned there, as *Charles VII.* had been formerly crowned at *Poitiers*. That there was no Ceremony in these two Actions contrary to his Profession; that his Majesty would certainly find there a Parliament fully resolved to exert themselves in his Behalf, and let your Majesty, says he, firmly believe, that you will easily shew the Pope, that you might have sooner made a Pope in France, than be a King of France at Rome. That Counsel was followed but in

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Henry IV. part. The King came to *Tours*, in order to go
^{1593.} and meet his Sister at *Saumur* (k).

Pope Cle-
 ment VIII

The Occasion of that Princess's Journey was
 this. A Match had been proposed in 1585,
 between the Count of *Soissons*, and she, as we
 have said in our former Volume, but upon Non-
 Performance of certain Articles, the Conclu-
 sion had been deferred. Since that time the
 King had altered his mind, especially since his
 Accession to the Crown; nevertheless the Prince
 and Princess being inamoured with one another,
 had constantly kept a secret Correspondence by
 Letters; the Countess of *Guiche*, out of re-
 venge for the King's Inconstancy, was the Ma-
 nager of that Intrigue. During the Siege of
Rouën, she wrote to the Count in the Princess's
 Name, and advised him to improve that Op-
 portunity, and on pretence of a Visit to his
 Mother who was sick at *Tours*, to come post
 to *Pau*, in *Bearn*. The Count obeyed, and set
 out. But the King being informed of the
 whole Affair, by means of a Maid of Honour
 to the Princess, sent proper Persons to inter-
 pose his Authority, and put a stop to her Mar-
 riage. They arrived at *Pau* at the very nick
 of Time, for the Count and the Princess had
 already signed their Contracts, and nothing more
 was wanting to make them happy, but the last
 Ceremony, which was to be performed on the
 next Day. The Parliament of *Pau*, having re-
 ceived the King's Orders, forbade them to pro-
 ceed any further, they set guards over the
 Princess, and obliged the Count to quit the
 City. Her Highness sent very bitter Complaints
 of such Rudeness to the King her Brother; who
 by his soft Answer engaged her to come to
 Court, and he went by the latter end of Fe-
 bruary

(k) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II.

bruary to meet her at *Saumur*. He had sent before for the Duke of *Montpensier*, with whom he had a mind to marry his Sister; and the Duke, very well pleased with the Match, had already yielded many things as to Religion, and very likely would yield much more, could the Princess have been prevailed upon to comply, but her Inclinations for the Count were still too strong. The Reason why His Majesty was so much against it, was because the Count had betrayed a Design of supplanting him, and of setting up himself as a Pretender to the Crown, wherein his Marriage with the Princess would have helped him much (1).

Henry IV.
1593.
Pope Clement VIII

About the latter end of *December 1592* the Duke of *Mayenne* had published a Declaration for the Re-union of all the Catholics of the Kingdom, as abovesaid; it was but an invective against the King, covered with a Pretence of Religion, summoning the Royal Catholics, to forsake his Majesty, and appointing the General States at *Paris* for the 17th of *January*, there to consider of the properest means of preserving the Religion and State, without any Partiality or Passion. While *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon* was alive, the League spoke quite after another Strain. But since his Death, knowing in their own Conscience that the Crown was devolved by right to *Henry IV.* they brought forth the Pretence of Religion, to dazzle the People's Eyes.

LXX.
Mayenne's
Declaration.

To this Declaration of *Mayenne*, the King opposed another, wherein he set forth the Artifices of his rebellious Subjects, especially of their Chief and Ring-Leaders; the Felony of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who took upon him to

The King's
Answer.

(1) Thuan. lib. cv. pag. 113. Vie de Du Pleffis Moray, liv. i. pag. 191, &c.

Henry IV. summon the General States, usurping plainly
 1593. by that means the Royal Authority ; he con-
 Pope Cle- futes his Subterfuges and frivolous Pretences ;
 ment VIII maintains his own Right to the Crown ; and
 as to Religion he declares, that if besides a General or National Council, they could find some better and speedier means, for his Instruction in a way suitable to his high Station, far from rejecting it, he was ready to improve it with all his heart, as he had sufficiently evinced, says he, by granting leave to the Princes, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords of his Party, to send to the Pope, to desire his Concurrence in that Instruction. Furthermore, the King charges the Leaguers of having opposed that Instruction ; he treats of the Duty of true *Frenchmen* ; promises to receive Instruction ; and declares himself against that pretended Assembly of the States at *Paris*, as being done against the Laws, the Welfare and Tranquility of the Kingdom ; and whatever shall be enacted by them, shall be of course deemed abusive and void ; declares the Duke of *Mayenne* and his Adherents guilty of High Treason ; promises a free Pardon to the Cities, Communalities, Corporations, and all private Persons seduced by the Leaguers, who shall return to their Allegiance a Fortnight after the publishing of these Presents.

Declaration of the Royalist Lords.

The Princes and Catholick Lords of the King's Council, drew up likewise a Declaration of their own, which they sent to the said States by a Trumpet on the latter end of *January*. Wherein they required that proper Persons well qualified for that purpose should be deputed on both sides for consulting together about the properest means of pacifying the Kingdom, and preserving the Roman Catholick

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lick Religion and the State. The Duke of *Henry IV.*
Mayenne and his Adherents answered, that they ^{1593.}
 were ready to send their Deputies, provided *Pope Cle-*
 they had not to deal with the King of *Navarre* *ment VIII.*
 or any other Heretick, but only with true Ca-
 tholicks. On another hand the Pope's *Legate*
 published an Exhortation to all the Catholicks
 of the Kingdom, full of Injuries against the
 King, who was defamed and reviled on all
 sides.

The Duke of *Feria* Embassador of *Spain* LXXI.
 came to the States at *Paris*, and exhorted them *The Spa-*
 to elect a new King; then he tendered the Let- *nish Am-*
 ters of his Master aiming at the same thing, *bassador's*
 with Promises to assist the Leaguers with all his *Offers to*
 Might if they elected the Infanta of *Spain*, *the States.*
 which should be married with some Prince of
 the Royal Blood of *France*, (young Cardinal of
Bourbon was meant then :) he was thanked for
 his Speech by Cardinal *de Pellevé* Archbishop of
Rheims, a downright Slave to the House of
Guise.

While these things were transacting at *Paris*, LXXII.
 the King was strongly solicited by several Per- *The King*
 sons, even by some professing the Reformed *is solicited*
 Religion and Members of his Privy Council, such *to turn*
 as *Baron of Rosny*, afterwards Duke of *Sully*, to *Catholic.*
 forsake the outward Profession of the Reformed
 Religion, and turn Catholick, no Artifice was
 omitted which Converters make use of on such
 Occasions. At one time the Abuses of the
 Roman Church were extenuated, they repre-
 sented them as too slight, to give any just
 Scruple to a reasonable Man. At another time,
 they granted him that they ought to be cor-
 rected, and reformed, and he was made to
 hope that they should be looked to, when he
 would be turned; and so many other Devices,
 too

Henry IV. too tedious to be here enumerated, were put in
 1593. use, that it is no wonder if a Prince of his Cha-
 Pope Cle- racter and in his Circumstances yielded at last
 ment VIII. to the Temptation. *Rosny* told him that one

may be saved in both Religions indifferently, that a CATHOLICITY would be much to his advantage; and that it would be the most efficacious means to quell all Conspiracies against his Person; he magnified the Toils, Troubles, Dangers, Anxieties, &c. &c. whereto he would be exposed all the Days of his Life, did he persevere in his Religion, without being able of ever enjoying with Satisfaction any Pleasure, or any Indearment. He reduced the whole Religion to the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Love of God and our Neighbour, the Confidence in the Merits of Jesus Christ; and that being supposed, all other Differences in Religion either in the Doctrine or Discipline and Worship seemed to him of small consequence; however, he declared that as to himself he would never change, and indeed he persevered a Reformed, but his Religion was no hindrance to his Advancement. Nay, some Ministers, whose Ambition and Avarice rendered them tractable, were sometimes made to confess in the King's Presence, that one could be saved in the Roman Religion; sometimes they were made to dispute, as by chance, with *Du Perron*, to whom they would yield ill-disputed Victories. And to the end that what they said might appear, as said without any private View, and be of a greater Weight, they were not obliged to turn Catholics, their Prevarication being thought more beneficial than a publick Profession of the *Roman* Doctrine. By these Artifices it was that the King was supplied with the Argument
 whereof

hereof Converters have since made great use ; Henry IV. iz. You REFORMED, you grant that one may be saved in the Catholick Religion ; On ^{1593.} Pope Clement VIII.  the contrary the Catholicks say that none can be saved in the Reformed Religion ; Prudence would have us stick to the surest, and to take to that Communion wherein the two contending Parties grant Salvation to be possible. These Ministers had been prepared long beforehand, whereof *Morlas*, *Rotan*, *De Serres*, and *Vaux*, were the most noted ; the latter of whom being troubled with some Remorses, revealed, it is said, the whole Mystery. *Cayer* was also of their Number ; but for some Books which he wrote in defence of Adultery and other like Crimes, and his lewd Behaviour, he was deposed by a Synod, and out of spite he turned Catholick.

While the King was thus perplexed by the contrary Opinions of his Courtiers, the Parliament of *Paris* exerted its Authority in a way <sup>Some further Trans-
actions at
Paris.</sup> suitable to the ancient Integrity of that August Body. The *Spanish* Emissaries prevailed almost in the States for the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, as to the Succession of the Crown. Being informed of the Intrigues of the *Spaniards* to engage the Deputies of the States in the Interest of their Master, they ordered that Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, exhorting him to maintain the Laws, and not to suffer that the Crown of *France* should be transferred to Foreigners, declaring void and unlawful all Treaties which had been made or should be made upon that account, as contrary to the *Salick Law*. Accordingly the first President *Le Maitre* made very lively and bold Remonstrances to that Prince, and represented that the Domination
of

Henry IV. of Women in *France*, even of Regents, had already^{1593.} ways occasioned Seditions and Civil Wars.

Pope Clement VIII. On the other hand, the *Pope's* Legate and his

Adherents left no Stone unturned, to have the Council of *Trent* received and published by the General States Authority; but they laboured in vain, for they were strenuously opposed by the first President *Le Maitre* and *William Du Vair*, who set forth in a full Light, how much that Council was contrary to the Liberties and Discipline of the *Gallican Church*, and to the Rights, Privileges and Immunities of the Kingdom. Their Opinion was extraordinary well received by some, but the greatest number who were Slaves of the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome* were much offended at the noble Liberty wherewith those grave and learned Senators delivered it, especially the Legate, who, however, thought proper to dissemble his Resentment, left the Assembly should break up thro' the Heats of the Debates (*m*).

LXXIV. *Conferences at Surrenne.* Now the time of the Conferences appointed with the Catholicks of the King's Party, being near at hand, proper Preparations were made for that purpose. On the 21st of *April*, Lodgings were marked out at *Surenne* a Borough near *Paris*, for the Deputies of both Parties. Two Days after the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Bishop of *Avranches*, the Abbot of *St. Vincent of Laon*, the Lord of *Villars* created Admiral by the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Count of *Belin* Governour of *Paris*, President *Jeannin*, President *Le Maitre*, and five or six more, deputed by the Leaguers, having received the *Legate's* Blessing and performed other religious Acts, arrived in that Place at one o' Clock in the Afternoon.

(*m*) Thuan. lib. cv. Choses memorables arrives en *France*, &c. pag. 740—745.

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1600. *Reinould de Baulne* Archbishop and Pa-^{Henry IV.}
 triarch of *Bourges*, *Francis de Chavigny*, Pom-^{1593.}
 one de *Bellevue*, *Nicholas D'Angenne* Lord of ^{Pope Cle-}
Rambouillet, *Gaspard de Schomberg* Count of ^{ment VIII.}
Nanteuil, *Godefroy Pontcarré*, *James Augustus*
Ibuanus, (our noble Historian) and *Lewis De*
Revol, Deputies of the Royalists, were arrived
 few hours before; *Dominic De Vic* Governour
 of *St. Denis* came along with them and assisted at
 the Conferences, tho' he was not named Deputy,
 the Leaguers having obtained the same Faculty
 for *Nicholas De Ville-Roy* who had not been
 named by the Duke of *Mayenne*. After hav-
 ing settled the Ceremonial and Order of the
 Conferences, and agreed that none of them
 should set down his Title, but only his bare
 Name when he should sign, to avoid Disputes,
 the first Debate arose concerning *Rambouillet*,
 against whom the Leaguers would except, be-
 cause they charged him for having been an Ad-
 viser of the late Duke and Cardinal of *Guise's*
 Execution; but his Reasons being admitted, and
 the King insisting that he should be present, they
 proceeded to other Things. A Cessation of
 Arms to a certain Distance of the Place wherein
 they were assembled was agreed, then they gave
 one to another reciprocal Assurances for their
 Safety, they produced their full Powers, and
 on the 6th Day, the Archbishop of *Bourges*
 opened the Conference upon the chief Business
 of their meeting.

It is not to be conceived how far the *Lea-*
guers carried their Impudence in their Demands;
 they would not treat as Subjects with their na-
 tural Prince, but as Equals. They required that
 the King should turn Catholick in three Months
 time for the furthest. That the Catholick Re-
 ligion should be publicly restored in all Cities,
 Towns, Boroughs, &c. all over the Kingdom
 without

Henry IV. without exception. That if the King would
^{1593.}
Pope Cle- allow the Reformed to live in the Kingdom,
ment VIII. that ought to be done only by an Edict of To-
 leration for a certain limited time, which might
 be prorogued, if it was thought proper. That
 no Reformed could obtain any Charge, Office,
 Dignity, Captainship, Government, Embassies,
 Benefices, &c. That the King should nomi-
 nate none to the Benefices but according to the
 holy Decrees and Canons; they divided the
 best Governments of the Kingdom amongst
 the *Guises* and their Creatures. Four new
 Marshalls of *France* ought to be created in
 their behalf. The King could not put Garrison
 in any Cities held by the Heads of the *League*
 which shall be named in the Treaty, nor in
 any other, unless they be situated upon the Fron-
 tiers. The Company of Gendarmes belong-
 ing to the said Heads ought to be maintained
 and kept at the King's Charge in the Provinces
 whereof they were or would be Governours.
 The King shall join to the Government of *Bur-*
gundy that of the *Lyonesse*, *Forest*, and *Beaujolois*;
 in behalf of Monsieur *de Mayenne*, together
 with the Nomination to the Offices and Bene-
 fices. In a word, they divested the King by
 their Pretensions of the Reality, and leave un-
 to him nothing but the Name of a King.

These Propositions had been formerly made
 by *Jeannin* in the name of those proud and
 ambitious Chiefs, who, under the holy name
 of *Defenders of the Faith*, hid the most detest-
 able and shocking Designs that could be ima-
 gined; they had been scornfully rejected al-
 ready, but the Proposers had not been dis-
 heartened, they renewed their Pretensions at
 this time; and to be short, after twelve or four-
 teen Conferences, they parted without agreeing
 upon

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upon a single Point; notwithstanding the ^{Henry IV.} King's Promise that he would instantly proceed to his Instruction, that was to say, to his ^{1593.} turning Catholick; he was answered, that it belonged to the *Pope* to judge of his Sincerity, and that he would not be acknowledged by them till he had received his Absolution, which they opposed with all their Might for a long time. *Pope Clement VIII.*

During these Conferences the King set out from *Mantes*, and went to besiege *Dreux*, which he took by Storm; *Noyon* had been retaken by the *Leaguers* after some Weeks Siege.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, the *Pope's Legate*, LXXV. *D'Espinac* Archbishop of *Lyons*, and some others of the same sort, did their utmost at *Paris* to hinder the People from accepting the Truce offered by the King, and for procuring the Election of the Archduke *Ernest* to be King of *France*; they miscarried in both, for as to the *Archduke*, *Rose* himself Bishop of *Senlis*, tho' a furious Leaguer, opposed the Proposition, and carried his point. And the *Parisians* understanding that their Chiefs endeavoured to stifle the King's Offers of a Truce, rose up tumultuously, and were appeased with much ado. The *Emissaries* of *Spain* were very hard at work at *Paris* to procure a King of *Philip's* liking; as they proposed always a *French* Prince who should marry the *Infanta*, *La Chastres* Governor of *Berry* desired them to name what Prince they had in view, *Feria* named the young Duke of *Guise*. *Mayenne* who was present dissembled for that time, and feigned to consent to that Nomination, but *Bassompierre* Representative for the Duke of *Lorraine* interposed in his Master's Name; and *La Chastres* opposed openly the Proposition. Nevertheless the Duke

Henry IV. Duke of *Guise* began to be courted by every one as a rising Sun, and the Duke of *Mayenne* ^{1593.} was almost left alone, whereat being moved *Pope Clement VIII.* with Jealousy, he resolved to oppose or disturb the Election. For which purpose he sent Admiral *De Villars* to *Rouën* with Orders to offer his Interest to the young Cardinal of *Bourbon*, if he had a mind to renew his Pretensions to the Crown. But that Prince who was then at *Galilion*, and whose Health was much impaired, seeing that his former Designs having been detected in time had been disappointed, refused to hearken to the Duke of *Mayenne's* Proposition.

Bassompierre being intent to hinder that Election, made use of *Michel de La Huguerie* for publishing a Book wherein he set forth the great Danger wherewith such an Election would be attended if it was procured by the King of *Spain*. On his side the Duke of *Mayenne* willing to hinder it by all means, took to his last shift, and renewed the mention of a Truce which had been proposed by the King; which *De La Chastres* found means to persuade as useful and necessary; and that Prince excused himself from proceeding to the said Election, saying that it was a thing as yet out of Season.

LXXVI. All the while, his Majesty was in the greatest *The King's* Anxieties, his Life or at least his Liberty were *Anxieties.* in the utmost danger; he knew the Plots that were laid every day against one or the other, the Catholick Lords of his Court had openly threatned him to forsake him, and some of them to side with his Enemies, if he did not instantly turn Catholick. In those Anguishes, finding himself under this sad Dilemma, either to renounce his Crown or his Religion, he yielded to the Temptation. *Henry* was a great Prince

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Prince in several respects, but he was a Man. He ^{Henry IV.} resolved to be instructed out of form only, for ^{1593.} ^{Pope Cle-} he knew much better than his Teachers; the ^{ment VIII} Archbishop of *Bourges* and some Bishops, amongst whom was the famous *James David Du Perron*, named to the Bishoprick of *Evreux* were chosen for that purpose; the Instruction was short, His Majesty himself proposed and resolved the Difficulties; no Minister or Layman of the Reformed Religion that could be able to assert the Truth was admitted, for tho' His Majesty had agreed with *Du Plessis*, to hold a Conference between the best Divines of both Parties, wherein the controverted Points should be freely debated, and that in consequence of that Resolution he had notified to the Reformed Churches to send their Deputies to *Mantes*, and to chuse some of the most eminent amongst their Divines; nevertheless, when he saw that Truth could not be victorious without an evident Danger of his own Ruin, so that it was better for him to yield to the Necessity of the Times, he freely granted *Du Plessis's* Request, who desired to be excused for not appearing at that Conference, and who intreated His Majesty not to expose the Truth to be vilified, since he was fully resolved to satisfy the Catholicks at any rate.

His Majesty came from *Mantes* to *St. Denis* ^{LXXVII.} on the 22d of *July*, where the Prelates were assembled by his own appointment for proceeding to his Instruction: He was received with great shoutings of a Multitude of People, Inhabitants and Foreigners, that were come from *Paris*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Mayenne's* severe Prohibitions. The next Day which was a *Friday*, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Bishops of *Nantes*, of *Chartres*, of *Mans*, *Du Perron* Bishop

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Henry IV. shop elect of *Evreux*, and some Curates of *Paris* were admitted to a private Audience. The
 1593.
 Pope Cle- Cardinal of *Bourbon* was come likewise thither,
 ment VIII but the King, being well informed of his se-
 cret Machinations, would not have him
 present at that Transaction, knowing certainly
 that he was rather a Spy, than a Witness; and
 added in a joke, that was the Disputation to be
 had only between them two, he was sure that tho'
 he had never studied in Divinity, and that his
 Antagonist was a Cardinal, he should for all
 that, get the victory over him. The King
 heard the Bishops very patiently from six of
 the clock to eleven before Noon; then rising
 up from his Seat, he gave them thanks, for
 that they had taught him what he knew not
 before, and told them that he would think of
 it a little more, and desired them to pray to God
 for him, that he might take a Resolution which
 might prove wholesome to the Kingdom as well
 as to himself.

It is to be observed, that for some Weeks
 before, he had had many Conferences with se-
 veral Divines which he had sent for from *Pa-*
ris, especially *René Benoit*, Curate of *St. Ex-*
stache, *Edward Chavagnac*, Curate of *St. Sul-*
pice; *Claude Morene*, Curate of *St. Mederic*, and
 a few others. One of them said the Day after
 the last Conference, that he had never seen a
 Heretick better instructed in his Error, nor
 one who maintained it with better Arguments,
 than the King. As they spoke of the Prayer
 for the Dead, *Pray*, says his Majesty, *let alone*
the REQUIEM, *I am not dead as yet, nor have I*
a mind to die so soon. As to the Purgatory, *I*
do believe it, says he, *not as an Article of Faith,*
but as a Belief of the Church whereof I am a Son,
it is also to please ye, knowing that it is THE
 PRIEST'S

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PRIEST'S LIVELIHOOD. As to the Adoration of the Sacrament, he insisted for a long time, and at last told them, *You don't satisfy me upon that Article so well as I could desire and had expected. Lo, I trust this day my Soul into your Hands, take care of it, I beg of ye, for where you oblige me to enter, there I shall live all the Days of my Life, and that I do promise upon my Oath*: whereupon being extraordinarily moved, he wept.

Then they tendered to his Majesty a Writing containing a Form of Abjuration, and Detestation of the chief Articles he had believed heretofore, pretending that he ought to protest against them, and to sign the said Protestation, before he should be received into the Pale of the Church; whereupon he told them, *Me thinks I have done enough, and you ought to rest satisfied; nevertheless leave that Paper, I will peruse it.*

The next Day the 24th of July, he sent early in the Morning for the first Presidents of the Parliaments of Tours and Caën, then at St. Denis, and told them, *I have done what was in my power to satisfy our Masters about my Conversion, and my Return to the Catholick Church, wherein I will live and die, as I have promised them; but I did not understand that I should be constrained to take such extraordinary Oaths, and to believe and sign idle Stories, which I am sure, you don't believe yourselves, such as the Purgatory: upon your Conscience, do you believe it?* Whereupon they gave no Answer, but turning the Discourse upon the Subject of their coming; *It is not reasonable, say they, to force your Majesty any further, and if you please, we shall go to these Gentlemen, and remonstrate to them.* Pray do that, says the King,

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Henry IV. and tell them to be content, I have done enough;
 1593. if they go any further, some Mischief will ensue.

Pope Cle-
 ment VIII The Reverend Mr. La Faye went to the
 Chancellor to complain of the Violence put upon
 the King's Conscience. His Lordship answered,
*that it was not reasonable, and that he would
 take care of it.*

Chauveau Curate of St. Gervais said in pre-
 sence of the Prelates assembled to draw up that
 Form of Abjuration, that *the King was neither
 a TURK, nor a PAGAN, to force him to make
 such an Abjuration; he is a Christian, says he,
 and if he hath erred, he must be reclaimed by fair
 means, from Error to Truth, and not dealt with
 just as if he was totally ignorant thereof.* He
 was supported in this by the Bishop of Mans
 and some others; so that, that Form was some-
 thing altered, and *Rosny*, afterwards Duke of
 Sully, had a hand in it †. But however alter-
 ed it was, there remained still enough, to make
 a sincere Lover of Truth tremble; Transub-
 stantion, Purgatory, Worship of Saints and I-
 mages, the Pope's Supremacy, &c. were plainly
 asserted; and the Truths opposed to these Lyes
 as plainly condemned and detested.

He abjures
 the Re-
 formed Re-
 ligion at
 St. Denis. However, Sunday the 25th of July was the
 fatal Day, wherein the King made the
 TUMBLING TRICK, as he was pleased to ex-
 press himself in his Letter to his beloved Mis-
 tress the fair *Gabrielle D'Estres* Duchefs of *Mon-
 ceaux* and *Beaufort*, dated the 23d of July. He
 came about eight in the Morning to the great
 Church Door of *St. Denis* attended by a great
 number of Princes, Lords, &c. of his Court
 surrounded by his *Scotch* and *Switz* Guards
 new cloathed, and amidst a vast Croud of
 People come from *Paris*, notwithstanding the
 severe

† Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. ch. xl. p. 114, 115—117

severe Prohibitions of *Mayenne* and of the *Henry IV. Pope's Legate*, (it was Death and Excommu-^{1593.} nication for whomsoever should come out to *Pope Cle-* go to *St. Denis* without Licence, which was *ment VIII* flatly denied to every body) the Archbishop of *Bourges* attended by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, nine Bishops and the forementioned Curates waited for His Majesty. The Archbishop asked the King, *Who he was? and what he wanted?* He answered, *I am the King, and want to be admitted into the Pale of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church.* He was asked again *Whether he desired it sincerely and earnestly?* having answered affirmatively, he fell down on his Knees, and promised upon his Oath, to live and die in the Communion of the said Church, to defend it and protect it *at the peril of his Life against all Opposers, that he freely renounced all Opinions contrary to the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church*; then having delivered his Profession of Faith, subscribed with his own Hand, to the Archbishop of *Bourges**, he and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* helped him to rise up, and was led by them to the great Altar, where he repeated the same Oath on his Knees, and making the Sign of the Cross, he kissed the said Altar; from thence he went to a Pavilion behind the Altar erected for that purpose, where he confessed himself to the Archbishop, who gave him Absolution. Then *Te Deum* was sung; and having heard Mass celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*, he returned to the Castle attended as before, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People (n).

Whoever

* That above mentioned, corrected by the Bishop of *Mans* and *Rosny*.

(n) Thuan. lib. cvi, & cvii. Mem. de l'Etoile pour servir à l'Hist. de France, Tom. II. p. 140, 141, &c.

Henry IV. ^{1593.} Whoever shall consider impartially this Ac-
 tion with what preceded, will be at a stand to
 determine whether to admire or blame most,
 the King's Complaisance, or his Enemies Ob-
 stinacy? and amongst his Enemies, I reckon
 those Catholicks of his Part, who bore the
 sway in his Council, and had the chief ma-
 nagement of his Affairs, such as D'O and some
 others, and some self-interested Reformed of
 his Court like *Rosny*.

1593.
 Pope Cle-
 ment VIII
 LXXVIII
Reflection
upon that
Event.

The King had been brought up from the
 Cradle in the Profession of the Reformed Reli-
 gion, Queen *Jane* his Mother had taken great
 care to have him instructed in his Religion; he
 was very sensible of the manifold Errors of the
Romish; the four Years time he had spent at
 Court, much against his Will, were more than
 sufficient to acquaint him thoroughly with the
 true Spirit of that cruel and deceitful Religion;
 nevertheless, against his own Experience and
 certain Knowledge, he forsakes his own to fol-
 low this. What Torture did he not feel
 in his mortally wounded Conscience! How
 cruel the Anguishes of his Soul! He wrote
 with his own Hand several Letters to *Du Plef-*
sis, desiring, nay, intreating him very earnestly
 to come near his Person, that he might unbur-
 then himself into his Bosom, In one of them
 he desired him to let him know what the *Re-*
formed said of his Change. Whereto *Du Plef-*
sis sent him this Letter, which tho' long, de-
 serves to be here inserted.

SIR,

Mem. de Du Pleffis Mornay, Tom. II. Recueil des
 choses memorables arrivées en France, &c. p. 762-764.
 troisième Edition à *Heyden*, 1603.

Henry IV.

1593.

Pope Clement VIII

Du Plessis'

Letter to

the King.

SIR,

SINCE Your Majesty has been pleased to enquire about the Sentiments of your most humble Subjects of the Reformed Religion, they say, that having the Honour to have for their King, the same Person who had honour'd them with his Protection; and who had, amidst so many Dangers, presented their Petitions, now invested with the requisite Power for granting them; they thought they might justly flatter themselves with hopes, that he would take care to ease them from Troubles, without their stirring much about it. For which cause they had resolved to wait patiently, till your Majesty's Affairs were settled. But they have just reason to complain that in four Years time Your Majesty had not so much as taken the Halter from their Necks, far from doing any thing that might tend to their Establishment; the tyrannical Edicts which the League had published for your own Ruin and theirs, remaining in full force, in several of your Parliaments: (*But how could the King remedy these Evils as long as the said Parliaments persisted in their unnatural Rebellion against Royal Majesty?*) Though your Majesty might have been put in mind of them, by the Continuation of their Services; for which they at present have no other Reward, than a well-grounded Fear for the future, and a great Grief for what has been transacted of late. (His Change of Religion.)

However, they said, that by their Petitions, they required not the Law of the State to be altered in their behalf, or in some foreign Prince's behalf, as the *Leaguers* have done. And as little, that their natural Prince should

Henry IV. change his Religion after their own Fancy, as the *Roman Catholicks* adhering to Your Majesty. And less still, that the State should be torn in pieces to gratify the Ambition of some People at your and the publick's Expence; but only to enjoy their own Consciences in Peace, and their Lives in Safety, every one according to his Quality and Condition, (which is a common Right to all Men, and not a Privilege) being fully resolved to obey whatever Prince, God shall be pleased to give them, without any Exception as to his Religion, and under his Command to defend even to the last Drop of their Blood, the sacred Laws of the Kingdom.

And for all that they complain that the matter of their just Petitions which had been granted unto them by the late Kings, and been required and maintained by yourself with so much Zeal and Vigour, has not been regarded since Your Majesty's Accession to the Crown, when they ought to expect the greatest Advantages, and when indeed, were it not for their Zeal for your Grandeur, and their Assurance of your Good-Will towards them, they might justly and usefully make use of the same means, as they have been forced to employ under the Kings your Predecessors. But what could they not have expected, and hoped for from him, whom God had, by the Protection of his Church, brought to the Succession of this Kingdom? And what could those, who had shed their Blood so freely for you, expect less than their Liberty and their Lives?

Now after their long Patience, they see that Your Majesty has changed his Religion in an instant, without providing for them. Thereupon the Common People (who see no farther than

than the outside) say, if it was of his own accord, what can we further expect from his affection? And if he has been forced, we can expect less still; or we must expect nothing but Mischief and Misfortune, since our Misery is in other People's power, and that it is no longer with him to do us good.

Indeed, SIR, the most circumspect, think, that it is impossible for your Majesty ever to forget the many Favours you have received from God, who, by such extraordinary Ways, has brought you from the bottom of the Mountains to place you on the Throne, even by your Enemies Arms, any more than the Services which, in your greatest Extremities, you have received from the Reformed, since their Enemy's ill Offices sufficiently put you in mind thereof. On the contrary they believe, that if you think of your self once a day, you can hardly help thinking of your Conscience towards God, and of your former Affection for your former Servants all the Year round.

But, SIR, they also argue in this manner, if in the midst of his Prosperity he has forgotten us, if when God has granted him so many signal Victories, he has not taken any care to restore us at least to our Liberty; what will he, or what will he not do, after this Change? Where shall he find Resolution enough, amidst so many Contradictions, to do us good? And who can warrant us, that those who have had Power enough to shake his Conscience, shall not have enough to force his Will, and to make an ill use of his Authority? To this are added the insolent Discourses of some *Roman Catholics*; the Instances of the Time past are also alledged; and to all this no other satisfactory

Henry IV,
1593.
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. ch²1593.
Pope Cle. th.
ment VIII je

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 Answer can be given, but what is in-
 duced from your Magnanimity and Constancy.
 Which however have been both slackened as
 what concerns God, as to what concerns your
 Souls; and therefore they again infer from
 What will he not do as to what con-
 science, cerns others? How shall he be more courageous
 and constant in behalf of his Subjects? In what
 shall he be more tender, when he has been so
 little as to his Duty towards God? How shall he
 be more virtuous for us, than for himself? For
 indeed, there is a far greater Distance between
 true Religion and Idolatry, than between I-
 dolatry and Persecution; from Good to Evil
 there must be some Effort, some Steps to leap
 over, but from one Evil to another it is plain
 Ground, the Transition is so easy, how great
 soever the Crime be, that it is scarce per-
 ceived.

See, SIR, by what Steps they have brought
 you to Mass, they say, you desire a Reforma-
 tion; we are full of Errors. Enter only into
 the Church, and you will reform them. But
 before you was admitted, they forced you to
 the grossest and most unwarrantable Practices.
 Those who are deemed by every one not to be-
 lieve in God, have made you swear to the I-
 mages, Relicks, Purgatory, Indulgencies, &c.

They told you, SIR, *Give your People that
 Satisfaction, you shall believe what you please of
 it, as little of the Mass as you will, only let the
 People see you there, with a Veil between, if you
 please.* But what Rigour have they not kept
 with you? They have forced you to swear a-
 gainst your own Conscience, and to recant in
 the most precise and the less tolerable manner,
 which they would not have required of a *Ma-
 hometan*, or a *Jew*. In a word, they have de-
 lighted

lighted in triumphing over your Faith ; a Faith ^{Henry IV.} which heretofore had withstood so many Temptations and triumphed over them, when <sup>1593-
Pope Cle-
ment VIII</sup> *Satan*, to make you forsake God, offered you the World with all its Pomp, and when the World despised by you armed all its Monarchies against you.

The most cunning made you believe, SIR, that this was the best way to get Satisfaction from the Pope ; to deprive him of his usurped Authority in your Kingdom ; which done you would call a National Council, and by that means put an end to the Schism, which hath long since afflicted the Church, a Work worthy a most Christian King. But look how well they have provided for this. They made you swear as an Article of Faith, the Pope's Authority. What then becomes of your Parliaments, and their Decrees ? And to hinder all Conferences, they force you in the most express Words to believe all their Interpretations under the pretended Name of the Church ; where is then the Necessity of assembling a Council ? And what can we expect better from it, than from that of *Trent* ?

Your poor Subjects see, that by the same Way, you will be led further. They see you submitting yourself to *Rome* ; they knew that without Penance, there can be no Absolution. They read that in the like Cases, *Popes* have oftentimes imposed on your Predecessors to go beyond Seas against the Infidels. They are assured, SIR, that before it be long the *Pope* will send you the consecrated Sword, and order you to wage War against the Hereticks, including under that Name the most Christian and Loyal *Frenchmen*, the wholesomest part of your Subjects.

That

Henry IV. That Order will at first look very hard to you; it will offend your Good-Nature, no doubt of it. *To wage war against my most faithful Servants, whose Blood I have drank in my Necessities!* But they will find Means enough to mitigate it, SIR, since you have gone so far, you must go on; you must make yourself peaceable and easy at any rate; grant it them at last, to take away all their Pretences, try only for three or four Months, you will be acknowledged. When you will have regained your Authority, you will restore them unto Peace; a Petition shall be then tendered to you to that effect; your People tired with Sufferings will beg it of you on their Knees. *(Such will be the Arguments made use of to ensnare your Majesty, you will be allayed by them; you will enter into their Measures; and gratify their Passions. What will be the Consequence of this?)* He who formerly defended you, will take up arms against you; and against such an Enemy, there is neither Counsel or Strength. They will oblige you to burn your good Subjects, as a Bonfire for the Peace concluded with the League, you will put in flames with your own Hands the Rubbish of your Kingdom.

These are, SIR, the Discourses of your poor Reformed Subjects; and considering the Transactions of that Conference (at *Surenne*) they are inclined to believe that things will come to pass as they imagine, and most humbly beseech your Majesty to represent it to yourself, as it were in a Picture.

That Conference has been set on foot by a Body who did not care to be authorized by you; it was suspected even at that time, by all honest People, and since that time it has proved too pernicious to yourself. The first Condition has been,

seen, that they should not treat therein either ^{Henry IV.} about the Heretick or with the Heretick, and ^{1593.} such was you then reputed amongst them. ^{Pope Cle-} Who does not see, that their Scheme was laid ^{ment VIII} against you, and against us? Against you whose Conscience they have forced, and whom they hope to exasperate against us by degrees.

They represented to you the League ready to receive you with open Arms, the great Cities striving who should first open their Gates, the Governours of others bringing you their Keys from all Parts. SIR, where is now the Gentleman, where the little paltry Town? and where have all these fine Promises ended? but to this; *show us that your Conversion is not a feigned one; let the Pope interpose his Authority; let us see you absolved.* And in the mean while, they monopolize your Penance, that is to say, they will impose upon you the Obligation of waging War against us.

For hath not the Truce, to all true *Frenchmen's* grief, reduced you to be only a Chief of Party, even after your pretended Conversion, whereby you was, as they say, to be acknowledged King? Did not *Paris* shut up its Gates to you instead of opening them, as you was promised? And those Advisers of yours have they not deprived you of the only means of reducing that City, (*viz.* thro' Want and Famine, by opening the Passages for carrying Provisions into it? If you make a Peace proportionable to this Truce, SIR, as it seems you are going to do, what can they expect but that of a King being made Chief of a Party by the Truce, you shall become by the Peace from Chief of a Party their Captain General against the *Hugonots*?

Whereupon,

Henry IV. Whereupon, SIR, your most humble Re-
^{1593.}
Pope Cle- formed Subjects say, that that Peace could not
ment VIII be treated by the Catholicks with your Enes-
 mies, without their being called and admitted
 into it, without a manifest Iniquity; and afford-
 ing a just Occasion of Jealousy; for why should
 not those who were called into a Suit com-
 menced against the League, be also called to
 the Agreement? Is it just that those, who in
 their Extremities desired to be assisted by the
 Reformed under your Authority, when the
 late King knew not whither to retire, in the
Limosine or in *Britanny*; when the Duke of
Mayenne held him, and they too, as it were,
 by the Throat; who were restored to, or main-
 tained in their Honours and Estates; is it just,
 I say, that now those very Persons should ne-
 gotiate a Peace with the League, without in-
 cluding their Benefactors and Defenders in the
 Treaty? They, who (besides that Obligation)
 make a part of the State, as well as them; and
 perhaps more sound, less passionate, as to what
 concerns your Majesty and the State.

Consequently too an Occasion of Jealousy:
 For what can be the aim of this Precaution at
 the very beginning of the Treaty, not to ad-
 mit the Reformed? unless it be, to resolve at
 their cost all the Difficulties which may therein
 occur, to make the whole Storm fall upon them,
 as it did upon you by the Edict of *Union*; for
 to imagine that the Clergy will turn their Ad-
 vocates, is that likely, since they have already
 dared to propose to you the utter Extirpation
 of Heresy? To you, SIR, who had but just
 quitted the Profession which they call so?

Neither can the Reformed be satisfied with
 saying, that your Majesty has sent for the De-
 puties, to be present at the Conference of the

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25th of July, seeing that your Letters of Summons sent into *Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné*, could hardly reach the Churches of these Provinces before the 1st of *August*, and in the mean while they treat not only without them, but of them, of their Condition, of their Posterity; while Promises are extorted from your Majesty against them, and to their prejudice, to evade and make void, whatever may hereafter be done in conjunction with them.

Henry IV.
1593.
Pope Clement VIII

To these Jealousies Facts are added, betokening the evil Designs of those who possess you, and Forerunners of more dangerous things to come. The Liberty of Preaching is taken from your Court, in order to exile the Reformed from your Household, for who can or will live there and serve you, without the Worship of God? They have banished it even from your Armies, in order to remove them from your Service, and consequently from all Offices and Honours. For what honest Man can subsist there, every day being exposed to the Danger of being wounded, or killed, without any Hope of Comfort? Without any Assurance of being buried after his Death. Their Enemies meditate to exclude them from the chief Offices of the State, of the Law, of the Exchequer, of the Police; tho' their Modesty and Patience as to that hath been such that they may call your Majesty to witness, that they did not much importune you about it. But they do intreat you to judge, whether it is reasonable that they should do their Children the Injustice to deprive them, by their Supineness, of their Birth-Right, to be hereafter deemed in this Kingdom, like Jews, or Moors, instead of the Estates of Honour which they could have derived from their Ancestors,

Henry IV. cessors, and which the Services done to your Majesty deserve.

1593.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

How tolerable, say they, was it for us to live under the Benefit of the Truce made with the late King, tho' an Enemy to our Religion, whereby he granted us the free Exercise of it in his Army; and at his Court, had our Ministers paid out of his Exchequer, gave us cautionary Towns in each Senescal-ship or Bailiwick; and at the end of the Year was to restore us, in their whole, all the former Edicts?

To all this your good Servants know not what to answer. Formerly they were used to say, *have patience*, the proper time is not come yet, but that time is gone. The Fruits are grown rotten as they grew ripe. But they cannot conceal to you, that the Spirits are in a great Ferment, they past from Expectation of Good to the Expectation of Evil; from their long and needless Patience, to the Search of a Remedy. And you, SIR, we know it very well, you are not free from some Dread thereof, you will not be well pleased to see another PROTECTOR; you will be jealous if they make their Address elsewhere than to yourself.

SIR, have you a mind to deter them from any such Thought? remove the Necessity of a Protector: be their Protector yourself, continue unto them that former Care, that former Affection; prevent of your own accord their humble Petitions, and their just Demands by a free Grant of the necessary Things. When they shall know that you vouchsafe to take care of them, they shall take none of themselves. But do forgive any one who shall tell you, that they all question whether you take care enough of yourself. You know yourself what can hurt them, and what may do them good. The
Petitions

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Petitions which you did tender formerly in ^{Henry IV.} their Name to the Kings your Predecessors ^{1593.} for their Liberty, their Security, their Dignity, tender them to yourself, far from being less ^{Pope Clement VIII} grounded upon Justice than they were heretofore; contrary-wise they have been loaded since that time with good and faithful Services, *which deserve your Attention*; you can report, and redress their just Grievances; and be, if you please, without any other Deputies, the Judge and the Advocate; the Grantor and the Grantees all together (o).

THE King was extremely moved by that ^{LXXIX.} Letter, which indeed was very free, and even ^{Reflections upon that Letter.} something rash in some Places, wherein the noble Author pretends to foretel what would be the Consequence of His Majesty's Change; but that must be ascribed to his unfeigned Zeal for his Religion, and to his sincere Attachment to the King's Interest, and the Good of his Soul, which carried him too far out of the Rules of true Policy on this Occasion.

For whoever shall consider impartially the Circumstances of those Times, shall necessarily own that the King had but one of these three Courses to follow, either to do what he did, or to resolve upon a continual War for all his Life, or to renounce the Crown of *France* and rest satisfied with that of *Navarre*.

The League, as we have observed, was weakened, but in a Condition to recover its Strength, nay, to become stronger than ever, should the King of *Spain* exert himself to the utmost of his Power. That Prince was indeed

(o) *Vie de Du Plessis*, liv. ii, p 201—207. *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. II. I have related it word for word, as much as possible; but in a few Places I have taken only the Meaning.

Henry IV. something weary of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who thwarted under-hand his Designs, but could he have had any certain Prospect of bringing about the Election of the *Infanta* his Daughter, or of reaping some other considerable Advantage, for all his Troubles and the vast Expences he was at for keeping his Party alive, by the means of the General States, certainly he would have stuck at nothing nor spared no Money or Men ; and at this time he was not without hopes of compassing his Ends. Tho' the General States seemed so much averse to the Propositions of the *Spaniards*, nevertheless it was not very difficult to bring them in ; nothing else was to be done for that purpose but to devise a means whereby to satisfy the *Spaniards* without offending against the *Salique Law*, that GREAT IDOL of the *French* Nation ; and that means they had in hand, viz. to put aside the King, and elect one of the Princes of the Blood in his stead ; they had especially three, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count of *Soissons*, and the Prince of *Conty*, all three good Catholicks, each of whom would have been very glad to accept the Crown upon the Terms offered by the *Spaniards* of sharing it with the *Infanta*. The Duke of *Mayenne* would have gladly joined to that Interest out of Jealousy against the other Princes of his own House, whom he could not bear to see raised above him ; and it cannot be denied, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had a great Interest, not only in the King's Party, but also in the Leaguers' ; and indeed he stood very fair for the Crown at this time, tho' he feigned to decline the Proposition sent to him at *Gaillon* by the Duke of *Mayenne* as abovesaid ; but in this case we may safely say of him what has been said of JOHN the FASTER, when he de-

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declined his Election to the Patriarchal See of *Henry IV.*
Constantinople: ET FUGIT AD SALICES, ET ^{1593.}
 SE CUPIT ANTE VIDERI. *Pope Cle-*
ment VIII

In a word, it is certain that not only the Officers of the old Court and the Catholick Lords that followed the King were tired with the War, and had openly declared to his Majesty, that they were fully resolved to forsake him and make their Agreement with the League the best they could, did he not proceed instantly and without delay to his Instruction; that is to say in the Catholick Phrase, to turn Catholick; but that the whole Kingdom, I mean the Catholicks, were fully bent to have no King but a Catholick, they must proceed without delay to the Election of a King, they must have one, but that one ought to be a Catholick. The States assembled at *Paris* had already appointed a Day for that Election, and were resolved to give *Henry IV.* the Exclusion is an obstinate Heretick; so that had he put off only for a Fortnight longer to publish his Resolution to turn Catholick upon such a Day, he was undone to all Intents and Purposes.

For what could he have done alone with his Reformed Subjects? Could he cope with the Catholicks, one against fifteen at that time? The Queen of *England*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, the Protestant Cantons would have sent to his Assistance. But how could he rely on either? Queen *Elizabeth* had failed him at the Siege of *Rouën*, and had occasioned his Miscarriage before that Place, only on the Earl of *Essex's* account. And was he in a condition to gratify the Greediness and insatiable Avarice of the *Germans* and *Switzers*, who would not stir without Money? and suppose that Queen *Elizabeth* would have drained her

Henry IV. Kingdoms of Men and Money; suppose, that
 1593. thro' a Miracle, the *Germans* and *Switzers*
Pope Cle- would have turned generous, what would that
ment VIII have signified against the whole Power of *France*,

Spain, *Italy*, the *Catholick Cantons*, the House of *Austria*, &c? Could they have long subsisted before these formidable Enemies. Besides that one must be exceedingly sanguine, who can resolve to pass his Days and spend his whole Life in a bloody Civil War, attended with all those dreadful Circumstances that are usually concomitant therewith, to make of a fine Kingdom a continual Vulcan; of so many rich and populous Cities, so many frightful Desarts; to put every thing topsy-turvy, without knowing when there will be an end, and all that for the sake of a Man of his Opinions. Is that Christianity? But read what our great Lawgiver says, *Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are of, for the Son of Man is not come to destroy Men's Lives, but to save them.*

Luke ix.
 54. 55.

Whereas then the *French* would have no King who was not a Catholick. Whereas *Henry* was not in a condition to force them to receive him, and that it was a cruel inhuman thing to engage the Kingdom in a perpetual Civil War; it remained that he should turn Catholick or renounce his Title to the Crown: and as this last was more agreeable to Christianity, so would it have much more redounded to his Honour and Glory. But *Henry* was none of those who think themselves in Conscience bound to sacrifice their worldly Advantages in order to obtain unfading ones hereafter, he was carnal as much as any Man in the World; and such being his Temper, he could not do better than to change as he did; he followed the Rules of true Policy, he acted the part of a good worldly Prince,

Prince, but not that of a Christian. So much I have thought proper to say concerning that memorable Event, against those who have consulted only their Zeal for Religion, without giving any heed to the Circumstances either of Times or of Things, and what I have said upon this account is grounded not upon meer Conjecture, but upon Matters of Fact (p).

Du Plessis arrived at *Chartres* in the Month of September, and was no sooner alighted, but was sent for by his Majesty, who gave him a private Audience, wherein he excused what he had done upon the Necessity of the Times; *that he had been obliged to sacrifice himself for his Subjects, even that he might be in a condition of procuring more easily some Rest to the Reformed.* To which *Du Plessis* replied, that there were several better means, had he been willing to make use of them; and that his Reformed Subjects would have chose rather to sacrifice themselves a thousand times for his Salvation.

Several other Discourses passed between His Majesty and that Lord, especially concerning his Abjuration, which the King denied to have made, saying, that the Paper wherein it was contained had been subscribed not with his own Hand, but *Lomenie's* his Secretary, who counterfeited his Hand mighty well. To which *Du Plessis* answered, that this was a shift whereby God Almighty could not be deceived, seeing that it had been done by his Orders, and sent to the Pope as his own, and with his Consent, and that he would be very sorry did the Pope question in the least its being authentic. *Du Plessis* made no long stay at Court at this time, because His Majesty desired that he would con-

(†) D'Aubigné, Tom. III. liv. iii. ch. xxiv. D'Avila, Tom. II. liv. xiii.

Henry IV. fer with the Deputies of the Churches before
 1593. they should come to him at *Mantes*, where they
 Pope Cle- ment VIII. were appointed.

LXXXI. They had been summoned by the King's
The Deputies of the Reformed arrive at Mantes. Letters sent by the Lords of *Viscouze* and *Beauchamp*, to meet together by their Deputies in that City, on the 20th of *July*; but *Du Plessis* having examined their Letters, and seeing that they were directed only to some of the most eminent Ministers, and some of the Lords and Gentlemen of the greatest Interest in the Provinces; and being informed that his Majesty was resolved to change, he thought proper to alter and reform the Dispatches as the King had given leave to do; but his Change occasioned some new Alteration, and the Reformed in the Provinces were at a stand to know what to do when they had been certified of that Event, Nevertheless *Du Plessis* exhorted them to set out on their Journey, shewing forth that they were not sent to dispute about Religion, but to settle the Condition of the Churches in the present Circumstances, whereto they complied. They arrived at *Saumur* to the Number of sixty. The Court endeavoured to reduce them to six that should wait upon his Majesty, and that the others should remain at *Vendôme*. Whereupon *Du Plessis* remonstrated, that by that means they would deprive them of a Satisfaction which they all desired, to know the King's Intention from his own Mouth; that his Majesty would deprive himself of the Advantage of sending them all contented back into their Provinces; and that his said Majesty was better acquainted with their Tempers than those who gave him such Counsel, that he knew very well that such a Choice of some of the Deputies

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ties would be attended with great Jealousies amongst them all. Henry IV.

That Advice prevailed at last, and it was agreed that they should be all admitted to the King's Audience, for which purpose they came to *Mantes* in October, and *Du Plessis* with them. During that time the King was gone to *Dieppe* to secure the Fort of *Fescamp*, which had been of late delivered unto him by the Governour. Here his Council endeavoured to keep him and prolong the time of the Audience promised to the Deputies. But upon *Du Plessis's* strong Remonstrances, his Majesty was at last prevailed to come back to *Mantes* without any further Delay. There he gave the Deputies a very kind Audience, he received their general Petition, and was graciously pleased to promise them a Redress of their Grievances.

1593.
Pope Clement VIII
Admitted to the King's Audience.

Here again, *D'O* and several others of his Majesty's Privy Council insisted upon a Delay of three Months, saying, that if their Petition was examined and answered before the Pope had received Satisfaction, that would make him more stiff, &c. But the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Lord *Du Plessis* remonstrated, that by that means the Result of that Assembly would prove quite the reverse of what the King expected; that it would put in a Ferment those who ought to be appeased; that the *Reformed Churches* had nothing at all to do with *Rome*, and by several other strong Arguments they carried their point, and by the King's Orders their Petition was examined by Chancellor of *Chiverny*, *D'O*, *Belieure*, *Schomberg*, *Pontcarré*, *Chandon*, Members of the Privy Council, *De Fresne Forget*, Secretary of State, who were all Catholics; they had several Conferences with the Deputies, and owned freely that they knew not where to

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Henry IV. make a Beginning. So that the King ordered the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Du Plessis* to join themselves with the former. An Order was settled amongst them, viz. that the Lords *Du Plessis*, and *Calignon* Chancellor of *Navarre*, with the Lords of *Champigny* and *Chandon*, should meet every Day in the Afternoon at *Du Plessis's* Lodgings, there to make the first Draught of the Articles that were to be proposed to the whole Assembly. It was unanimously agreed to offer the Reformed the following Articles.

*Articles
consented to
in their
behalf.*

That the Edict of 1577, the Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*, and the secret Articles be restored unto them, and put in execution; repealing all other Edicts published against them since that time by the League. That in order to make a Compensation for the Changes and Alterations occasioned by the Troubles, a particular Regulation should be made, to be as a Rule to the Lord Chancellor and the Secretaries of State, wherefrom they could not recede; whereof notice should be given to the Parliaments and other Magistrates throughout the Provinces, when Occasion should require it. That the Roman Religion should be settled again in the Places wherefrom it had been banished, without any Prejudice to the Reformed Religion. That in the Cities under the King's Obedience the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be allowed, for the greater safety of the Professors thereof: Even at Court during the Residence of *MADAME* the King's Sister; but in her Absence, with some little Restraining; in the Lords Houses, without singing of Psalms; especially in the Dukes of *Bouillon*, *La Trimouille*, *Roban*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*, their Houses. In the Army, the King present
or

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or not, in the Tents of the Captains of *Gens-Armes* and the Colonels. That these Articles should be exactly observed, notwithstanding any Oath taken or to be taken to the contrary. ^{1593. Pope Clement VIII} *(This was added, because of the King's Coronation, and the holding of a Chapter of the Order of the HOLY GHOST, both of which Ceremonies were near at an end, and in both they swear the Destruction of Hereticks.)* That Provision should be made for the Maintenance of the Ministers, according to the List of them certified by the Provinces, and that the Stock so provided shall be imployed under the Name of the King's Sister. That all Legacies made by the Reformed to their Churches and their Poor shall be good and lawful, and the Executors, Administrators, &c. might be compelled to pay them. That the Children should be brought up in the Religion of their Parents, even tho' they should die without a Will. That it should be free for the Reformed to build and endow Colleges for their Youth's Instruction and Education. This last Article, by common Agreement of all, was not set down in writing.

There was no further Provision made for the Security of the Reformed, but notwithstanding the reiterated Remonstrances of their Deputies, they could obtain nothing else, but to hold their Provincial Assemblies to acquaint their Principals with the Success of their Deputation, and then to hold a National Synod and a General Political Assembly, and so they were dismissed; but before they parted they renewed, in the face of the Court at *Mantes*, their former Association under the King's Authority, which had been ratified formerly in several Assemblies, namely, at *Nimes, Milland, Montauban*, and *Rochelle*,

Henry IV. *Rochelle*, to live and die for the Maintenance
 1593. and Defence of their Confession of Faith pre-
 Pope Cle-
 ment VIII sented to the late King in 1560 and 1561, and
 they declared to his Majesty that they were resolu-
 ed so to do. Whereupon the King told them,
 that they did well, but exhorted them to be
 sober and prudent. That Negotiation lasted to
 the latter end of *January 1594 (q)*.

LXXXII. Before we make an end of this Year 1593,
Several we must briefly relate some Occurrences that
Occurren- happened since the King's Change. The drift
ces since of the *Spaniards* and the obstinate *Leaguers*
the King's was, to render that Change suspicious; they de-
Change. claimed against it in *France*, and in the foreign
 Countries, especially at *Rome*, where the Duke
 of *Nevers* sent by the King was haughtily and
 scornfully received by the Pope, who refused
 to hearken to any Reconciliation between the
 King and his See. And not satisfied with that,
 they attempted to murder his Majesty, by the
 means of one BARRIERE a Waterman of *Or-*
Barriere's
Attempt. *leans*, who having been seduced particularly by
 Jesuit V A R A D E, was seized at *Melun* with
 a large Knife fit for that purpose; he owned
 his Intention was to murder the King, and was
 sentenced to be pinched with red-hot Pincers,
 to have his Hand with the Knife hanging to it
 burnt, to be broken alive upon the Wheel, and
 be burnt alive, which Sentence was executed
 upon him; that happened about the latter end
 of *August*.

Truce with Now whereas the Cities shewed an Inclination
the Lea- for acknowledging the King after his Change,
guers. and waited only to be assailed for surrendering
 themselves, the Duke of *Mayenne* found no
 better means to retard the Ruin of his Party
 than

(q) Vie de Du Pleſſis, liv. ii. pag. 208—212. Thuan.
 lib. cviii.

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than by proposing a Truce with his Majesty, Henry IV. which was consented to, tho' by the knavery of his Party, it was treated not as between the King and his Subjects, but as between two Parties upon equal footing, the King not being so much as named in it. It began the last Day of July, and was to end the last of October; but it was continued for three Months longer (r).

Queen *Elizabeth* feigned to be much concerned at the King's Change, she wrote to him the following Letter.

" IT is hardly possible to express the extreme Grief and Dissatisfaction which has seized me upon *Morlant's* Representation of Things. Good God! what a miserable World do we live in? Could I have ever thought, SIR, that any worldly Consideration could have prevailed with you to discard a just Sense of God and his Fear? Or can you ever reasonably expect that Providence will grant this Change of yours a happy Issue? Or could you entertain any Fear or Suspicion that the gracious God, who had so long supported and preserved you, would fail, and abandon you at last? It is, believe me, a dangerous Experiment, to do evil that good may come. But I hope you may be yet recover'd to a better Inclination, even the Spirit of a sound Mind. In the mean time, I shall not cease to recommend your Case to God in my daily Prayers, and earnestly beseech him that *Esa's* Hands may not pollute the Blessing and Birth-right of *Jacob*. The Promise you make of a sacred and friendly Alliance, I conceive myself to have deserved, and even earned at a
" vast

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Henry IV. " vast Expenſe: but I had not mattered that,
 1593. " had you ſtill kept yourſelf the Son of the
 Pope Cle- " ſame Father. From henceforth I cannot
 ment VIII " look on myſelf as your Siſter, in reſpect to our
 " common Father, for I muſt and ſhall always
 " pay a much greater regard to Choice than
 " Nature in that relation; as I may appeal to
 " God, whom I beſeech to recover you into
 " the Path of a ſafer and ſounder Judgment.

*Your Siſter after the old-faſhioned way,
 as for the new, I have nothing to do
 with it,*

ELIZABETH (s).

Nothing more Godly and Chriſtian-like can be ſeen than that Letter; but if *Brand's* Ab- breviator is to be credited, who will think, that the great Queen *Elizabeth* who wrote it, was the ſame Queen *Elizabeth* who ſeventeen Years before returned the following Answer to *St. Allegonde*, *Buis* and *Malſon* Embaſſadors of the States of *Holland* and *Zeland* at her Court? *Poor People*, ſays ſhe, *would it not have been better for you to go to Maſſ, than to expoſe yourſelves to ſo many Evils? If you don't believe in it, why don't you go to it as to a Puppet-Show? You ſee that I am dreſt in white; and if, at this Inſtant, I had a mind to play a Comedy, would you think it a Crime to be preſent at it?* Perhaps ſhe had changed ſince that time. However *Henry's* Change cauſed no real Alteration in that great and wiſe Princeſs's Conduct towards him; ſhe continued to aſſiſt him with Men and Money (t).

The

(t) Rapin's *History of England*, Tom. II. Book xvii. p. 142. Edition of 1733.

(s) *Histoire abrégée de la Réformation des Pays-bas*, Tom. I. liv. xi. p. 237. à la Haye 1726.

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The Truce granted to the Duke of *Mayenne* Henry IV. and accepted by him, exceedingly chagrined ^{1593.} the *Pope's Legate* at *Paris*; he declaimed against ^{Pope Clement VIII} it, as if it had been a Sin against the Holy Ghost, his mercenary Preachers thundered ^{Council of Trent received by the State.} from their Pulpits; and to be short, nothing could make amends for it, and satisfy his Eminence but the Reception and Publication of the Council of *Trent*, which indeed was received without Restriction, by part of the States assembled at *Paris*; but his Joy was not of a long Duration, for what that Assembly had done at this time, could never be ratified after the surrender of *Paris*; and notwithstanding the pressing Instances of the Clergy, it was at last rejected by the King in 1606 (v).

The Truce being at an end, it was debated ^{1594.} in the King's Council whether it was proper to ^{LXXXIII} grant a further Prolongation; but whereas it ^{The War renewed.} was certainly known that the Enemies had nothing else in view but to spin out the time, to the end that the Courts of *Spain* and *Rome* might have enough for resolving upon the Subsidies and Troops that were to be sent to the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise*, for which purpose their Deputies were negotiating in these two Courts; it was agreed to grant no further time, and to renew the Hostilities (u).

That Resolution was no sooner published but it was attended with extraordinary good Success. The King was crowned at *Chartres* on the 27th of *February*. *Aix* acknowledged him, several Commanders and Governours of Places and Provinces were glad of this Opportunity of securing their Fortunes, by making the best bargain

(v) Thuan. lib. cvii. p. 374. lib. cxxiii. p. 893. lib. cxxiv. p. 1195—6. lib. cxxxvi. p. 1246.

(u) Idem, lib. cviii.

Henry IV. bargain they could for the Places and Provinces they held. The Marquis of *Vitny* surrendered ^{1594.} *Meaux* and renounced the *League*; *D'Alincourt*, *Pope Clement VII* Son to *Villeroy*, surrendered *Pontoise*, and was *LXXXIV* not forgetful of his own Concerns. The Mar-
Several shal of *La Chatres* followed the Stream, with
Provinces *Orleans* and the *Orleannefe*, *Bourges* and the
and Cities *Berry* (*).
acknow- But the best Acquisition of all was *Paris* it-
ledge the self. On the 22d of *March*; the Count of
King. *Brissac* Governour thereof surrendered it to the
Paris sur- King, upon Promise of being created Marshal
renders. of *France*; he acted in Concert with the Parliam-
 ent, and the most eminent Burgeffes. The
Spanish Embassador, and the *Pope's* Legate
 quitted the City the same day, with what fo-
 reign Troops they had with them. That was
 done without any other blood shed besides
 that of 25 or 30 *Lauskenets*, who had a
 mind to resist. In the Afternoon the Shops
 were opened, and every thing was as easy in
 the City, as in time of Peace. On the 30th
 of the same Month, the Parliament enacted that
 whatever had been done or written since the
 29th of *December* 1588, against the last and the
 present Kings, should be buried in an eternal
 Oblivion; the Accomplices in the late King's
 Murder and the Abettors thereof, as well as
 the Murderers of the President *Briffon*, and of
 the two Counsellors, their Abettors and Accom-
 plices were only excepted. On the 2d of *A-*
pril the Rector of the University begged the
 King's pardon for the past Excesses; and on
 the 22d, the Faculty of Divinity recanted all
 their Decrees and Decisions made since the be-
 ginning of the *League* against *Henry III.* and
 the present King, and declared that the whole
 Nation

(*) Idem Ibid.

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Nation was in duty bound to acknow-^{Henry IV.}
ledge *Henry IV.* for their lawful Sovereign, ^{1594.}
and to obey him, notwithstanding he had not ^{Pope Cle-}
as yet received the Pope's Absolution. Most ^{ment VIII}
part of the seditious Preachers, and some of the
Sixteen, chose to follow the *Spaniards* rather
than to submit.

The Surrender of *Paris* had been preceded ^{LXXXIV}
by that of *Lyon*, where the Duke of *Nemours* ^{Several o-}
was arrested and sent Prisoner to *Pierre Ancise*. ^{thers fol-}
It was likewise followed by the Reduction of ^{low the}
Rouën; *Villars* Governour thereof made his ^{Example}
Treaty with the King, he kept the Post of ^{of Paris.}
Admiral: *Havre de Grace*, *Harfleur*, *Pont-Au-*
demar, *Verneuil*, submitted themselves at the
same time. Each Day was remarkable by some
new Loss of the League. *Troye*, *Agen*, *Pe-*
reneue, *Sens*, renounced it; *Laon* besieged by
the King, surrendered after two Months Siege.
The Duke of *Elbauf* engaged *Poitiers* to sub-
mit. The Marshal of *Aumont*, assisted by the
English Fleet, retook *Quimper* and *Morlain* in
low Britanny, the *Spaniards* were driven out
of *Brest*; *St. Malo* came of its own accord un-
der the King's Obedience; *Amiens*, *Albeville*,
Dourlens, and *Beauvais* did the same; and to
complete the Prosperities of this Year 1594, the
Duke of *Guise* made his Agreement with the
King, and surrendered *Rheims*, *Rocroi*, *St. Di-*
dier, *Guise* and several other Places and Castles.

But all these Advantages were got at the ^{LXXXV.}
Cost of the poor Reformed; the Leaguers ne- ^{Sad Con-}
ver failed to stipulate in their Treaty some Ar- ^{dition of}
ticles or other to the prejudice of the former, ^{the Re-}
and they saw themselves deprived by degrees ^{formed.}
almost of all the Privileges granted them by
the Edict of 1577, which however was to be
the Standard of their Liberties, and of all the
future

served as a precedent for all others. I rue that all the Cities and Towns did not shew like Aversion against the Reformed, but all agreed as to this, that no other Religion besides the Catholick should be publickly professed within their Walls.

Some of these Treaties made between King and his rebellious Subjects the Leagues were published before the Reformed could see the Political and the Ecclesiastical Affairs which they had been allowed to hold ; so they had time to see what they were to expect from the Reconciliation of these their old enemies with the King. Another ground of their Jealousies, was the Favour into which *Jesuits* had crept at Court, especially since the Reduction of *Paris*. Cardinal of *Bourbon* the Duke of *Nevers* supported them with their might against the Oppositions of the University ; and many other Lords openly protected them. They had a strong Party in Parliament ; the King himself, who was brought to any thing which he thought conducive to the *Pope's* softening, favo

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 161

that Society, and shewed how formidable their Credit and Power was; and indeed they had increased in 53 Years to that degree, that they possessed 228 Houses and two Millions of Livres, yearly Rent in *France*, which was owing to their turbulent and restless Spirit, their Avarice and boundless Ambition. The Reformed and many of the wisest amongst the Catholics beheld the Settlement of that Society in *France*, as a thing very prejudicial to the Kingdom. But the Attempt of *John Chastel* upon the King's Person put an end to that Law-Suit, by the latter end of this Year.

In a word, the Condition of the Reformed was very precarious at this Time, and seemed past all Recovery. They held a National Synod at *Montauban*, which opened its Sessions on the 15th of *June*. None had been assembled since that of *Vitré* in 1583; but this of *Montauban*, a City far remote from Court, and very jealous for Religion and the common Cause, made amends for that long Interval of Time lost. Affairs of great Importance were debated therein.

Their first Care was to order publick Prayers to be put up in all their Churches over the Kingdom for the King's Prosperity; to the end that it might appear that they did not think themselves disengaged either from obeying or serving him, tho' he had forsaken their Religion; and that there was a wide difference between them and several Orders of Monks, who refused to pray for his Majesty, tho' he was a Catholic and had been crowned with the usual Ceremonies. But at the same time, lest this Mark of the Synod's Affection to the King's Prosperity should be mistaken for a tacit Approbation or Dissimulation of his Change, they

Henry IV.
1594.
Pope Clement VIII

LXXXVI
The thirteenth National Synod.

Henry IV. ordered that Prayers should be put up for his Majesty's Conversion; and that the Ministers that were still at Court, or should be sent there, should tell him of his Duty to God in that respect.

1594.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

Then they took into their Consideration the Conduct of the Churches of the *Ile of France*. They had fallen into a Snare of the Court, who had given them a Taste of a Project of Accommodation with the Catholicks, under pretence of uniting with them in defence of the Liberties of the *Gallican Church* against the *Pope's* Usurpations. Therefore they sent their Deputies to the Synod, with Charge to propose the said Union; and to add another for naming proper Persons on both sides, to whom the two Parties, Reformed and Catholicks, should refer themselves for the Decision of the controverted Points between them. And because the Court did not relish well the frequent Assemblies either Ecclesiastical or Political of the Reformed, the said Deputies were also charged to require that it should be enacted that the said Assemblies should be held but rarely and only upon very important Occasions. The Mischief proceeded from hence: The Courtiers lost no Opportunity of laying before the Reformed Nobility and Gentry of that Province, amongst whom they lived, the King's Power, who gathered new Strength every day; they gave them to understand that if they were over-nice to-day, they might have occasion to repent to-morrow, and by such Threatnings as well as by fair Promises, they had engaged them to take that Step. But the Synod which sat in a Place of Security, was not so weak as to relish those Proposals, which were utterly rejected. Nevertheless this was the Rise and Beginning of that strange Variety of Opinions
and

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 163

and Conduct, which has been observed since this amongst the Reformed. The southern Provinces of the Kingdom, as the remotest from Court, have been always less dazzled with its Grandeur; or else being the strongest both for Number and Quality of the Reformed, or for Number and Strength of Places held by them, were generally inclined to move vigorous Resolutions; whereas the Provinces adjacent to *Paris* had followed the Example of that Metropolis, which has always recommended Submission and Patience by its Example as well as by its Counsels.

Henry IV.
1594.
Pope Clement VIII

The Synod resolved likewise that the Union made at *Mantes* in December 1593, should be sworn by all Churches in the Kingdom; and a Breviate was ordered to be presented to the next Assembly at *St. Foy*; complaining against those of the *Isle of France*; and several others, because in the Name of the Churches they had prosecuted the Verification of the Edict of 1577; whenas it was expressly contrary to the Resolution taken at *Mantes*.

Also Letters were sent in the Synod's Name to Her Royal Highness *Catharine* the King's Sister, to congratulate her upon her Stedfastness in her Religion, beseeching her to persevere.

Several other Resolutions of less moment were taken in that Synod which ended its Sessions on the 28th of June.

On the 15th of July was held a Political Assembly of the Reformed at *St. Foy* upon *Dordogne*, under the King's Authority and by his special Command. Where, after having taken into their Consideration the sad Condition they were in, thro' the open and daily Breaches that were made in the Edict of 1577; by the Concessions granted to the Leaguers in the

lxxxvii.
A political
Assembly
of the Re-
formed.

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Henry IV. Treaties made with them, they resolved to send again their Deputies to his Majesty, and the Lords of *Chouppes* and *Tixier* were named for that purpose; they were charged most humbly to intreat the King to answer their Petitions, to set before him the ill Usage they received every where by the Parliaments and the Commonalties: And indeed they were intolerable. At *Paris*, where his Majesty usually kept his Court, the Lieutenant Civil put out an Order to oblige every one upon corporal Punishments to bow before Images, Crosses, Banners, Shrines, &c. which they met in their way. At *Lions* those who should refuse to profess the Roman Religion were ordered to quit the City and the Province on pain of Death. At *Rennes* the Parliament forbid upon corporal Punishments to sell, read, or keep any Book treating of the Reformed Religion. At *Bordeaux*, the Parliament ordered to dig up the Bodies of the Reformed that had been buried even fifteen Years before in the Churches or Church-Yards. Besides that the Leaguers took care when they treated with the King to exclude the Reformed from all Offices of Justice, Police, Finance, &c. and even to deprive those who were already invested with them. In consequence thereof, those of the Reformed at *Orleans* who had any civil Employment in the City were deprived. The Parliament of *Rouën* forced the Attorneys and Lawyers to abjure their Religion. That of *Tours*, a little before their Removal to *Paris*, forced likewise the Assessor of *Saumur* to abjure, tho' that City had been granted by his late Majesty to the present King for the Security of his Reformed Troops. All which violent Proceedings are so many Infractions of his Majesty's gracious Concessions and Promises made in the last

last Year at *Mantes*; and while the Leaguers, Henry IV. Enemies to his Majesty, neglect nothing to se-^{1594.} cure their Condition, the poor Reformed, al- Pope Cle-
ways faithful and loyal, remain unsettled; for ment VIII
for gratifying the former, there is no Hour trouble-
some, even in the Night; to oblige these, not
a quarter of an Hour in the whole Day can
be spared. Nevertheless, they don't envy
the Favours which his Majesty heaps upon
their Enemies; but it is very hard, that it
should be always at their own Cost and Preju-
dice. That his Majesty had always promised,
that when he should be settled, he would then
settle them; but contrary to their Expectation
they saw themselves exposed to a greater Ruin
through their long Forbearance, and upon that
specious Pretence of the King's own Settlement.
That now since by the Favour of God he was
received in *Paris* and in the best Cities of the
Realm, they most humbly besought him not to
delay any longer the Accomplishment of his
Promises (y).

Indeed nothing was more just than that Pe-
tition, and one must be very partial who will
not acknowledge that the Reformed having not
the Gift of diving into the inmost Recesses of
the King's Heart, and all the outward Appear-
ances offering them nothing else but a dreadful
Scene of Calamities for the future, they could
not be blamed, if they began to think of them-
selves, and to try all lawful means to shelter them-
selves against the Storm which seemed to threaten
them. Some of the Deputies had Orders from
their Principals to insist upon the Election of
another Protector, and it is said, that the
Duke of *Bouillon* caused it to be proposed under-

(y) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. II. Supplement aux
dits *Memoires*, pag. 262, &c.

Henry IV. hand to name the *Elect^{or} Palatine*, whereof
 1594. he should be the Lieutenant, but that Scheme
 Pope Cle- came to nothing. That Assembly renewed
 ment VIII their Oath of Union, that is, to live and die
 together for the Defence of the common Cause; they made several Regulations for the Maintenance of good Order amongst themselves, and the Payment of the necessary Expences, then they broke up in the Month of *November*.

Their Deputies at Court went to *St. Germain en Laye* to have an answer to their Petition, but were obliged to wait three Months together before they could receive any. At last they were referred to the Edict of 1577, which had been so much curtail'd by the Treaties made with the Leaguers, and to the Answers given them in the Conferences at *Mantes*, where a Copy of the Articles was shewed unto them; but the principal Articles, concerning the Exercise of their Religion at Court, and in the Armies, the Salary of the Ministers, the Continuance of the Cautionary Towns were purposely blotted out; some others were intirely alter'd either to restrain them, or to obscure the Meaning thereof. Nay, they refused them to draw a Copy of the Original, but they were told that it should be put into the hands of a Gentleman of their Persuasion, Member of the Privy Council, signed by the King and one of the Secretaries of State; so the Deputies were obliged to depart without any further Satisfaction. And a little after the said Edict of 1577 was verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, at the Instances of the King's Council. They pretend, that by such a Concession of an Edict defective in all its Parts, to put a Stop to the just Pursuits of the Reformed. And even in this the monstrous Partiality

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of the Judges was very plain ; for tho' the Parliament of *Paris* was the wholesomest of all others, nevertheless the Reformed carried it only by six Votes, whereas when the same Edict had been verified at *Tours*, before it had been abridged in any Part, that had been done without any Contradiction. The other Parliaments refused to verify it, and that of *Bordeaux* carried their Insolence so far, AS TO PUT OFF FOR A YEAR TO DELIBERATE WHETHER THEY OUGHT TO DELIBERATE UPON THAT POINT (z).

Henry IV.
1594.
Pope Clement VIII

This Year the King was rid, by Death, of a dangerous Competitor, viz. the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who entertained still his ambitious Thoughts, that were revived in him from time to time by Persons who wanted an Opportunity to fish in troubled Water, and caused great Anxieties to the King. The Superintendant D'O died also as he had lived ; His Majesty was very well pleased with it, for tho' he knew perfectly well the scandalous way of that Man's living, and that he wasted his Exchequer to gratify his Luxury, nevertheless he knew not how to remedy that Disorder, and was afraid to disoblige a Man who had so great an Interest at Court, and in the Council. At first he put his Exchequer in commission of five Persons, but a little time after he thought proper to alter his Scheme, and the Lord of *Sancy* was put in the Head of D'O.

lxxxviii.
Death of
Cardinal
of Bour-
bon and
of D'O,

But on the 27th of *December* the King was preserved in the midst of a much more threatening Danger. His Majesty being just arrived from the Frontiers of *Artois*, he was in the Room of the Duchess of *Beaufort*, where the Court was then assembled ; as he was stooping to embrace

lxxxix.
Chastel's
Attempt
upon the
King.

(z) Idem Ibid. Thuan. lib. cxii. pag. 525.

Henry IV. *Montigny*, a young Lad about nineteen Years, namely JOHN CHASTEL Son to a Draper of ^{1594.} *Paris*, attempted to stab him with a Knife; but ^{Pope Clement VIII} happily for the King, his present Position saved him; he received the Stroke in his under Lip, and had one of his Teeth broken. The Villain was seized immediately, he was a Disciple of the *Jesuits*. He own'd that his Design was to murder the King, to make amends for his own manifold Sins; he asserted to the last the lawfulness and meritoriousness of that heinous Act; he declared that he had been brought up in the College of *Clermont* under the Tuition of the *Jesuits*, and that they had led him oftentimes into a Chamber where *Hell* and many dreadful Figures were represented to the Life. He was condemned to the usual Punishment inflicted upon such Traitors.

The *Jesuits* equally odious to the Reformed, and to a great Number of *Catholicks*, being charged by the Depositions of their Disciple, were prosecuted. Being, then, more *Spaniards* than *French*-like affected, they had distinguished themselves by their Zeal for the *League*, they had much contributed towards its Formation, they had been strictly united with the Faction of the SIXTEEN, and to them were ascribed most part of the seditious Writings that had been published against the late and the present King. Some of them were found in the Custody of Father JOHN GUIGNARD in Manuscript, he had been Tutor to *Châtel*; he was arrested and sentenced to be hanged. By the same Decree the whole Society was banished out of the Kingdom. Some other Parliaments followed the Example of *Paris*; but *Tboulouze* and *Bordeaux* refused to do the same, and that Plague of Mankind found

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found a Refuge in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, till Henry IV. they were recalled ten Years after.

Now the King being strengthened by the Accession of so many Cities which had submitted themselves, the Council thought proper to proclaim War against *Spain* for several good Reasons, which was done on the 17th of *January*. ^{1595.} Pope Clement VIII } XC. War proclaimed against Spain.

The Reformed held another Political Assembly at *Saumur* on the 24th of *February*, by the King's own Appointment. The Lords of *Chouppes* and *Tixier*, the two Deputies at Court, gave account of their Negotiation of the last Year, which afforded matter of great Discontent, which was much increased by the Accession of new Complaints of great Hardships whereunder the Reformed groaned in the Provinces. Therefore they began to dread more than they expected from the Court; tho' they were thoroughly persuaded that the King was of such good Nature that he would never hurt them of his own accord. Therefore, besides the general Petitions for Redress of Grievances drawn up at *Mantes* and *St. Foy*, and so many times presented, besides that lately drawn up at *Saumur* and presented to the King's Council, they resolved to make their Address directly to the King, in hopes that their Uprightness would move his Majesty to pity their sad Condition. For which purpose the Lords of *La Nouë* and *La Primaudaye* were deputed to Court, which was then at *Lyons*, in the Month of *July*, where they stayed long enough, and at last could obtain nothing but the Answers to their former Petitions at *Mantes*, with the Subtractions and Restrictions made since the first time, and a Promise of his Majesty to send Commissaries into the Provinces to put the

Henry IV. the Edict of 1577 in execution; which Edict
 1595. by the several Treaties made with the Lea-
 Pope Cle- guers, as above said, contained almost nothing
 ment VIII but what was to the Advantage of the Ca-
 tholicks.

So all the fruit of these three Deputations was reduced to Answers delivered at *Mantes*; in the first, they had only the reading of them; in the second, they were read again, but very different from the first; in the third, they were put into the hands of *La Nouë*, with this Caution, that he should not show them but to the Assembly, and even that only in three Months time: what a special Favour! The *League* was not treated at that rate, the Edicts granted in their behalf were instantly concluded in the King's Council, verified by the Parliaments, published and received in all the Cities with loud Acclamations of Joy, and executed without delay. An Instance thereof we have in the Treaty of *Aix*, whereby the Exercise of the Reformed Religion was interdicted throughout all the Province, which was immediately verified by the Parliament, and executed with the utmost Rigour.

XCII.
 Some Oc-
 currences
 of this
 Year.

In the Month of *June* this Year the Duke of *Mayenne* was routed at *Fontaine Francoise*; that Battle, wherein the King performed Wonders, gave a decisive Stroke to the League. The Duke despairing ever to recover, was very glad to accept the King's generous Offer, to retire to *Cbaalons* and remain there safely till his Treaty should be concluded. The Castles *Dijon* and *Talan* surrendered to the King, by the said Duke's Interposition.

At the end of this Year, the young Prince of *Condé*, first Prince of the Blood, who was kept with his Mother at *St. John of Angely*,
 was

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 171

was delivered into the King's hands. His ^{Henry IV.} Mother's Tryal having been revised by the ^{1595.} Parliament of *Paris*, she was acquitted for ^{Pope Clement VIII} want of Evidence, as it was pretended; see what we have said concerning that Affair in the second Part of our third Volume. Then she turned Catholick, and the young Prince too, tho' an Infant of about seven Years of age, against the Intention of the great *Henry* Prince of *Condé* his Father, nay against an Article of the Edict of 1577, whereby it is enacted that the Children of those who die without Testament shall be brought up in the Religion of their Parents. Which Article had been confirmed by the Agreement made at *Mantes*. And it is very observable, that, before that Prince was delivered to the King, the Court, in order to bring the Reformed to that Compliance, affected to say, that they ought to receive Satisfaction upon their just Demands. But they had no sooner got from them, what they desired, but they kept no account of their Petitions, and 'twas talked no more of sending Commissaries into the Provinces (a).

All this while the King's Reconciliation ^{XCIIF.} with the *Pope* was negotiating at *Rome*. The ^{The Pope} Pontiff understanding that the King's Power ^{grants the} was daily rising upon the Ruins of the *League*, ^{King his} began to relent and to hear more favourably those who took it in hand to procure the said Reconciliation. Cardinal of *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris*, and then *D'Offat*, *Du Perron*, and some others that came purposely to *Rome*, overcame by degrees the Difficulties that were thrown in their way. But nothing contributed more to the Conclusion of that ridiculous and at the same time shameful Mummery, ^{than}

(a) Supplement aux Mem. de Du Pleſſis, p. 265, 266.

Henry IV. than the prosperous Course of the King's Affairs, seeing that certainly he would soon bring his Enemies under, *Clement* began to be afraid lest the King should make himself intirely easy in his Throne before he was reconciled with *Rome*, and that afterwards he would not trouble himself any further about that Reconciliation. He perceived even that the wisest Men of his own Court disapproved his rigid Way of proceeding, and said loudly that he hazarded the losing of *France*, as *Clement VII.* had lost *England* in the time of *Henry VIII.* And these Considerations prevailed upon and obliged him to grant his Absolution.

^{1595.}
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

The King had oftentimes declared that he would never consent to do any thing misbecoming himself, or the Dignity of the Crown. There were two sorts of People in his Council who thought, that the Pope ought to be left alone to make the first Steps himself, being persuaded that by Perseverance they would bring him to grant a bare and simple Ratification of the Absolution the King had received at *St. Denis*. The one were the Reformed, who could not endure that the King's Honour should be prostituted to the Intrigues of the Court of *Rome*. The other were the Catholics not bigotted, who loved the King and the Kingdom, and who not questioning but the Pope's Aim was to make the King purchase his Favour by some ignominious Condescension, were desirous the King should avoid that Snare, by letting the Pope alone till he sought after him. But the *High-flown Catholics* carry'd it, because the King desired to be rid of his Trouble. He was weary of the toilsome Life wherein he had spent so many Years. He pursued eagerly the Dissolution of his Marriage with *Margaret of Valois,*

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Valois, and desired to marry the fair Duchess *Henry IV.*
of *Beaufort*. He knew that the last Excuse of ^{1595.}
the obstinate *Leaguers* was, that he was not ab- *Pope Cle-*
solved by the *Pope*; the Duke of *Mayenne* had *ment VIII*
sworn never to pay him Allegiance till he was
reconciled with the *See of Rome*. Which things
he thought impossible to bring to pass without
the *Pope's* Assistance. So that the Commission
was given to *D'Ossat* and *Du Perron*, this last
was as notorious a Knave, without Religion
and Honesty, as the first was remarkably hon-
est and upright, who was not a little vexed,
when he saw that his Companion granted more
to the *Pope* than he had advised. This was
the King's Misfortune, that of those two Præ-
tors, that were to represent his Person in this
Affair, he, to whom the Secret was intrusted
and who was the chief Manager thereof, was
not the most honest. However to get what he
could from the King, the *Pope* at first made all
the Demands which the *Spaniards* suggested to
him, tho' he knew very well that they would
never be granted. The King had clearly ex-
plained his Mind; he had expressly set down,
in his Instructions to his Proctors, what he
would grant, and what he would refuse; and
they were strictly enjoined not to consent to
any thing that might be injurious to the royal
Majesty, especially to forbear the Word of *Re-*
habilitation, which insinuated that he could not
be a lawful King without the *Pope's* Approba-
tion; and to insist upon the Validity of the
Absolution he had received at *St. Denis*. There
was also an Article in the said Instructions in
behalf of the Reformed, whose faithful Services
to the Crown he commended with Encomiums.

But whatever Caution was taken to preserve
the King's Honour, *Du Perron* forbore not to
comply

Henry IV. comply with the *Pope's* Demands; his Excuse
 1595. was, that they could not do otherwise, and
Pope Cle- that they were fain to accept of certain Condi-
ment VIII tions, to avoid others that would be more irk-
 some. The main question in debate was the
 Dependance or Independance of the Crown of
France; and nevertheless it was unfolded on-
 ly by equivocal Expressions, from whence e-
 qual Advantage might be drawn as well for
 the one as for the other. This was by no
 means relished by the honest *Frenchmen*; much
 less did they relish those Slaps with a Wand
 which the Proctors received upon their Shoul-
 ders in the King's Name, in presence of the
 Cardinals, during the Ceremony of the Ab-
 solution. *Du Perron* betrayed in this, as well
 as he had done before on several other Occa-
 sions, his King's and his Country's Honour;
 he aspired to a Cardinal's Hat, for which he
 would have ventured whatever is dearest to an
 honest Man; (I shall give his Character when I
 come to the Year 1600.) The *Spaniards*
 made it the Subject of their Sport and Merri-
 ment, the *French Catholick Politicians* mur-
 mured at it, the Reformed stormed at it, as
 the highest Affront that could be put upon
 royal Majesty. The Court itself was ashamed
 of such a pitiful Condescension; and *Du Per-*
ron had much ado to ward off the bloody Re-
 proaches that were cast upon him, for so great
 a Prevarication.

And as he had consented to such Indignity,
 so had he agreed to sixteen Articles which the
Pope imposed upon the King by way of Pe-
 nance, most of which were of such a nature
 that His Majesty could not perform them
 without

without intangling himself in the greatest Difficulties (b). Henry IV.
1595.
Pope Clement VIII

While this Affair was under Negotiation at Rome, the Reformed of *Chastaigneray* were massacred by the Garrison of *Rocheport*. The Lady of the Place, who had heretofore signalized herself by other Acts of Violence, taking notice that the Reformed, who met together there from sundry Places in the Neighbourhood, carried Arms about them in their own Defence, because the Garrisons of the Enemies were always scouting abroad, forbid the Meeters to come armed upon her Lands; and supported that Inhibition with so many dreadful Threats, that they obeyed. In that Condition it was that the Garrison of *Rocheport* surprized them at the Lord of *Vaudrê's* Castle, where they had met together. About two hundred were massacred, without sparing either Sex or Age, nay they murdered a young Infant that was carried to be christened, and a little Boy who offered them eight-pence for his Ransom. This piece of Inhumanity put the Reformed into a Ferment equal to the Cruelty of the Fact. They held several Assemblies to consider of it. They petitioned the King never to pardon the Authors of such a Massacre. The King gave out Letters Patent, which declared that this Act of Cruelty should not be comprehended under the Name of Military Violences, which Treaties of Peace generally provide for. In pursuance thereof the Duke of *La Trimonille* and *Du Pleffis* caused five or six of these Executioners, that fell into their hands, to be executed (c). XCIV.
Cruel
Massacre
of the Re-
formed at
Chaf-
taigneray.

The

(b) Thuan. lib. cxiii. Lettres du Cardinal D'Ossat liv. ii. lettre 77. à Monsieur de Villeroy.

(c) Vie de Du Pleffis Mornay, liv. ii. p. 226.

Henry IV. The King's Reconciliation with the Pope
 1596. was followed by that of the Duke of Mayenne
 Pope Cle- with his Majesty; his Treaty was published
 ment VIII under this Title, *The King's Edict concerning*
 XCV. *the Articles granted to the Duke of Mayenne*
 Mayenne *for the Peace of the Kingdom.* All the Lea-
 submits to *guers, the Duke of Aumale and another except-*
the King. *ed, were comprehended in this Treaty.*

The Marshal of Joyeuse and the City of
 Tboulouze submitted themselves to his Majesty
 in March following.

XCVI. In the Month of April the Reformed held
 Assembly of an Assembly at Loudun, by the King's Au-
 the Re- thority, wherein the Lords of La Nouë and
 formed at La Primaudaye gave an account of their late
 Loudun. Deputation; whereby the Assembly judged
 that after so many Deputations which had
 proved fruitless, it was in vain to expect any
 good from Court. They considered what they
 ought to be done in their sad Circumstances,
 it seemed unto them, that the shortest way was
 to re-enter into the same Condition wherein
 they had been put by the late King's Truce,
 and which the present King had accepted of
 in the Name of all the Reformed Body. Their
 Reasons were that His Majesty as Successor of
 the late King was bound to make good his
 Promises and Engagements which he had ac-
 cepted not only in his own private Name, but
 in the Name of the whole Body of the Re-
 formed. And that the late King being dead
 a few Months after the said Treaty, the pre-
 sent King had solemnly promised, at his Ac-
 cession to the Crown, to perform every Article
 of the said Truce; till Religion should be provi-
 ded for by a General or a National Council
 and by the General States.

That

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That consequently they were well-grounded ^{Henry IV.} upon the Declarations of his Predecessors and ^{1597.} his own, to require the Execution of the said ^{Pope Cle-} Truce, since they had no other Law whereby ^{ment VIII} they could stand, but that.

Nevertheless, for Peace sake, and out of Respect for his Majesty, they deputed again Mr. *Vulson*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, with an humble Address to his Majesty containing summarily their Demands. He met the King at *la Fere*, and had his Audience, but was dismissed with the same Answer as before; and his Majesty sent Orders to the said Assembly to depart, and to go into their respective Provinces for acquainting their Principals with his royal Intention. That Order was mistaken for an open Design to break and disunite them, without doing them Justice, and redressing their Grievances. Therefore their Patience began to be tired; they were ready to depart, fully resolved to provide for their own Preservation, by putting in Execution the Articles of the Truce agreed on with *Henry III.* and to do it with as little Confusion, and Inconveniency to the King's Affairs as could be.

The King being informed of that Resolution, was vexed at it, and dreading the Consequences thereof, he wrote to *Du Plessis*, to let him know that his Intention had been misrepresented, that he desired him to dispose the Members of that Assembly to stay at *Loudun*, and that he would send thither some Deputies of his Privy-Council to confer with them, about the Means of giving them Satisfaction: That Letter was dated the 11th of *June*. The Assembly received that gracious Message with Hearts full of Gratitude, they gave thanks to God, that he had moved the King's and the Lords of his Council's

Henry IV. Hearts, for they desired no better than the
 1596. Liberty of serving God in Rest and Quietness,
 Pope Cle- and would have been vexed, had they been
 ment VIII forced to do otherwise.

The Deputies which the King sent, were the Lords *De Vic*, and *Calignon*, Members of the Council of State, and of his most honourable Privy-Council; the first was a *Roman* Catholick, the other Reformed, but both were conspicuous for their Integrity and Capacity: But their Power was not full enough for bringing that Affair for which they were sent, to a happy Conclusion. They arrived at *Loudun* on the 20th of *July*. They offered nothing better than the Edict of 1577, so many Times and for so just Causes rejected; true it is, that they offered some inconsiderable Compensation for the Articles which had been cut off, which was not accepted. So that they could not proceed any further. But the King's Deputies had an Opportunity of convincing themselves, that the State of the Reformed, and their Grievances had been ill-represented at Court, that they had been too slightly considered. They desired the Assembly to depute two of their Body to wait with them upon his Majesty, as Witnesses of their Sincerity, and at the same time for joining with them in soliciting a Redress, which being granted, tho' without any great Hopes of Success, Messieurs *De Rieux*, and *De la Moite*, set out with them for Court. In their way, they found several places in the possession of the Reformed, ready to be ruined for want of Pay, some of them were without Garison; in some others, the Money destined for their Maintenance had been laid out in other Uses, and the Receivers were expressly forbidden to advance any, besides for the four first Months of the

Year;

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Year: The Court was at last obliged to provide for the most urgent Necessities of a few of them that were in the greatest Wants, but that was done with such a Circumspection and Sparingness, that it was plain enough, that they did it by Force, and much against their Wills. For it was publickly known that the Garisons had been taken away out of some Places, purposely that they might fall more easily into the hands of the Leaguers, to whom they had been promised by the several Treaties made with them.

Henry IV.
1596.
Pope Clement VIII

The Lords *De Vic* and *Calignon* came back to *Loudun* only, the 10th of *October*: which long Delay afforded the Assembly a Pretence of suspecting the Court's Sincerity and Ingenuity; and that they intended to amuse them till the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Duke of *Merceur*, which were then on foot, should be concluded, and then, to deny them Justice. But their Suspicions were still more increased, when they saw that the Deputies' Powers were not sufficiently full for bringing Matters to a Conclusion, and that the main Scope of their Coming was only to persuade them to send some more Deputies to the King, and to remove themselves to some Place nearer the Court: Whereunto the Assembly readily consented, in order to abridge the Difficulties, being promised withal, that the King's principal View in proposing that Removal was only to hear more easily their Reasons, and confer with them in the Forms requisite in such Cases. The Lords of *La Nouë*, and *Chouppes*, the Baron of *Fons*, Messieurs *La Motte*, *Brunier* and *Tixier* were sent by the Assembly, and met the King at *Rouën*, the 4th of *November*, and in Obedience to his Majesty's Command, the said Assembly

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Henry IV. was transferred from *Loudun* to *Vendôme* on the 10th of the same Month.

1596.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

Their Deputies found the King pre-possess'd by the Calumnies of their Enemies, who loaded them with the Odium of the bad Success of his Affairs in *Picardy*. But tho' it was easy for them to evince their Innocency, and the Integrity of their Proceedings, and to satisfy fully his Majesty as to that, nevertheless they did not much better succeed in this Negotiation than in the former ones, tho' they receded as far as possible from their just Pretensions; for they insisted purely and only upon Articles which were of a publick Nature, wherein no private Person was any further concerned than as a Member of the Society. Therefore the Deputies took their Leave of his Majesty without having received any Satisfaction; they set out from *Rouën* on the beginning of *January* 1597, the Lords *De Vic* and *Calignon* followed them to *Vendôme*, by the King's Command; they were sent on purpose to exhort the Assembly to rest satisfied with the King's Offers, considering the present Circumstances of Times (*d.*)

XCVII. On the 5th of *June*, was held at *Saumur* the 14th National Synod of the Reformed Churches; the Rev. Mr. *De la Touche* was chosen Moderator. This Ecclesiastical Assembly meeting at the same time with the Political, and in a Place so near to *Loudun*, gave the Court some Uneasiness. They were afraid lest these two Councils debating almost the same Things, their Resolutions would be more effectual, and that the Ministers would carry along with them to their respective Churches, that Spirit of Discontent, which was prevailing at *Loudun*. But *Du Plessis* assured the Court,

(*d.*) Supplem. aux Mem. de Du Plessis, p. 267, &c.

Court, that Ecclesiastical Matters only, should be treated of in the Synod. Henry IV.
1596.

The said Synod wrote to the King on the general Affairs, and sent Deputies to him. They thanked his Majesty by their Letters, for those fresh Assurances of his Good-Will, brought to them by the Revd. Mr. *De Serres*, which they ascribed partly to his natural Goodness, and partly to the Remembrance he had of the good Affection the Reformed had for his Person, and the great Services they had done him. They complained next, that their Grievances were misrepresented to his Majesty, who was made to believe, that they were used almost as well as their past Services deserved, and according to his good Intentions; whereby he was hindered from thinking more earnestly of their Relief; whereas, on the contrary, they had new Wrongs done them, which they did instance in manifold Particulars. That the Catholics would have them be contented with the Edict of 1577, and the Conferences of *Flex*, and *Nerac*, though it was almost made void by the several Concessions granted to the Leaguers to oblige them to return to their Allegiance. In consequence whereof, they were treated in most Parliaments, according to the bloody Edicts of the League. That the Reformed had Reason to think it strange, that they who had served the King from his Cradle, and whose Services had been attended with the Blessing of God, were in a worse Condition under his Reign, than they had been under his Predecessors, who were so much pre-possess'd against them. At last they excused themselves for troubling his Majesty with their Affairs, at a Time when he had such weighty ones in hand, but they thought that the making such a con-

Pope Clement VIII

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Henry IV. considerable Part of his Subjects, and of the most
 1596. faithful too, their Concerns could be none of his
 Pope Cle- least important Business.
 ment VIII

The Synod answered also the Lord High-Constable's Letter upon the same Heads; but for all that, they could get for the present, nothing else but a renewing of wonted Promises. The Revd. Mr. *D'Orival*, Minister of *Sancerre*, having made a Motion, Whether it was convenient that the Ministers should be sent Deputies to the Political Assemblies; it was resolved in the Affirmative, because the present Juncture of Affairs did require it. I don't understand how such a Resolution could be very pleasing to the Court, as the Revd. Mr. *Benoit* pretends, unless we should suppose that the Court fore-saw that the Ministers would be more dependant, and more easily influenced by the Court than the Lay-men; but sure I am, that it was afterwards very prejudicial to the Interest of the Reformed Churches.

Several Regulations concerning Discipline were made in this Synod; for Instance, they decreed that the Provinces should be admonished to do their utmost for erecting and endowing a College in each of them, and that by them all jointly, two Universities should be erected in the Kingdom; the Lord *Du Pleffis* received the Thanks of the Company for his noble Foundation for that purpose at *Saumur*. It was also decreed that the Crimes which would expose the Penitent to a certain Death, or brand him with Infamy, should not be specified in the publick Confession he was obliged to make, before he could be received to the Peace of the Church.

Some Ministers like *Cayet* were deposed as scandalous Persons, others who had been suspended

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pended or deposed by Colloquies, or Provincial Synods, were re-established. I shall now but just mention the Civil Occurrences of this Year.

Henry IV.
1596.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

The City of *Marseilles* was delivered from the Danger of falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, just upon the Point of Execution, by one *Libertat*, and the Duke of *Guise*, helped by the Reformed of the Province. The Gallies of *Spain*, commanded by *Doria*, had already entered the Haven. The whole Province was subdued for the King by the said Duke, supported by the Reformed commanded by *Les Diguieres*: They had to fight against the *Leaguers*, the *Spaniards*, and the Duke of *Espenon*, who endeavoured to strengthen himself in that Province, against the King's Will. The Parliament of *Aix* declared *Genebrard*, Archbishop, of that City, attainted of High-Treason, condemn'd him to a perpetual Banishment, and an injurious Pamphlet he had written against the King, was burnt by the common Executioner.

XCVIII.
Several
Occurren-
ces of this
Year,

The Marshal, Duke of *Joyeuse*, with the City of *Tboulouse* made their Agreement with the King. After *Paris*, that City had been the most rebellious, and had published bloody Decrees against the late, and the present King. The Marshal of *Joyeuse*, known during the Life of his eldest Brother, by the Name of Count of *Boucbage*, had been a Capuchin, the Pope had dispensed him from his Vows, at the Request of the *Tbolousans*; but, after he had made his Treaty with the King, he resumed his former Profession.

In the Month of *April*, an Impostor, who pretended to be Son to the late King *Charles IX.*

Henry IV. was arrested in *Poitou*, brought to *Paris*, and hang'd at the Place of the *Greve*.

1596.
Pope Clement VIII

In the same Month, the *Spaniards* seized *Calais*; *De Rone*, a famous Leaguer, and a great Captain, who had been very imprudently neglected, had the Direction of that Enterprize; the Town did not hold out long, the Castle was carried by Storm after a stout Resistance, whatever was found in it was put to the Sword. The Royalists took *La Fere*, in *May*, after some Weeks Siege, the Duke of *Mayenne* signalized himself on this Occasion, for the King's Service.

In the same Month, *De Rone* surprized *Ardes*, tho' the Garison was above 1400 Men strong; the Count of *Belin*, Governor thereof, was tried for the Fact, but acquitted.

An Alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between *France*, *England*, and the *Seven United Provinces*, and Queen *Elizabeth* sent the Order of the Garter to the King.

The Provinces of *Auvergne*, *Foretz*, and *Cevennes* submitted to his Majesty in *June*. On the 25th of *July*, *Alexander of Medicis*, Cardinal of *Florence*, the Pope's Legate, made his Publick Entry at *Paris*. He was a Prelate of great Moderation, and was very far from countenancing the Remainders of the *League*, when they brought their Complaints to him.

In *August* the Marshal of *Biron* routed and took Prisoner the Governor of *Artois*, he treated that Province as the *Spaniards* had treated the *Bolonese*, he put them to Fire and Sword.

By the latter End of this Year, the King after several Commands, obliged the Parliament of *Rouën* to register the Edict of 1577, in behalf of the Reformed. And all that could be granted them,

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them, over and above this, was to give them ^{Henry IV.} some new Places for their Worship, in lieu ^{1596.} of those that the several Treaties with the ^{Pope Cle-} Leaguers had taken from them. Tho' the ^{ment VIII} Catholicks themselves consented to that Kind of Compensation, which indeed was not sufficient for the Reformed, who aimed at more Liberty and Security than what was given them by that Means; nevertheless this Verification was at first very ill-resented at *Rome*. *D'Offat* display'd all his Skill and Ability when he informed the *Pope* of that Transaction; " He
" enlarged upon the great Advantage of Peace,
" after a Civil-War of 35 Years standing,
" which could not end, but by this Edict;
" he added, that Peace was necessary for the
" Conversion of Hereticks, wherein the King
" did daily make considerable Progress; he in-
" larged upon the Miseries which War had
" brought upon the Catholicks themselves, and
" the Spoil of the ecclesiastical Revenues, oc-
" casioned thereby; he shewed forth, that this
" Edict was not the Work of the present King,
" but his Predecessor's, when he was obeyed
" by all the Catholicks at home and assisted
" by those abroad; that this was the least fa-
" vourable of all those ever obtained by the
" Reformed; that so long as it was observed,
" their Religion did visibly decline; that this
" Edict confining Heresy to certain Places, re-
" stored every where the Catholick Religion,
" so that one would hardly believe that the
" Reformed, AFTER HAVING SO MUCH CON-
" TRIBUTED TO THE PRESERVATION OF
" THE STATE, and strengthened themselves,
" during the War, with above 50 strong Pla-
" ces more, and above what they had before
" the last War, would be ever contented with
" it,

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Henry IV. " it, at a Time when they might, perhaps
 1596. " extorted more from the King, almost
Pope Cle- " whelmed with other Affairs. He laid a
ment VIII " Strefs upon the Examples of all othe
 " tholick Princes, especially on the Ki
 " *Spain*, who tolerated the *Moors*, and o
 " the *Dutch* Liberty of Conscience, an
 " free Exercise of their Religion, if they
 " return to their Allegiance; he shewed
 " that the Oppositions of Parliaments we
 " Forms, since they knew well-enough, tha
 " must obey at last. He subjoined several
 " Considerations to the same purpose, and
 " cluded with putting the *Pope* in hopes,
 " this Peace would bring all other Thir
 " a State most agreeable to his Holiness." *Pope*
 feigned to be satisfy'd with these
 sons (e).

The King had summoned the Notables
 Realm to meet together at *Rouën*, to con
 of the properest Ways and Means of proc
 the Welfare of the State; accordingly the
 at the beginning of *November*; and his M
 opened the Sessions with this short, but
 gracious Speech.

" Had I had a mind to set up for an O
 " I would have learn'd some long and fine
 " tion, and would have delivered it w
 " suitable Gravity. GENTLEMEN, I do
 " at two more glorious Titles, viz. to be
 " DELIVERER and the RESTAU
 " of this State. For attaining which, I
 " convened you in this place. You kno
 " your own expence. as well as I at mine
 " when God first called me to this Crov
 " found *France* not only almost ruined, b
 " most intirely lost for the *Frenchmen*.]

(e) Lettres du Cardinal D'Offat. l. 2. lettre 92. anné

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" the Grace of God, the Prayers and good Henry IV.
 " Counsels of my Servants, by the Sword of 1596.
 " my brave and generous Nobility, (from whom Pope Cle-
 " I don't distinguish the Princes of my Blood), ment VIII
 " our most glorious Title being, upon a Gentle-
 " man's Honour, by my Troubles and Labours,
 " I have saved it from Loss, let us now save
 " it from Ruin. Be Partakers with me, My
 " DEAR AND BELOVED SUBJECTS, of this
 " second Glory, as you have been of the first.
 " I have not called ye together, as my Prede-
 " cessors did, to have you approve of my
 " Wills, and Resolutions, but to receive your
 " Advices, to believe them, to follow them, in
 " a word, to put myself under your Tuition.
 " Very seldom such a Fancy comes into a King's
 " Head, a King with a grey Beard, a King
 " victorious. But the strong Affection and
 " Love I have for my Subjects, the earnest
 " Desire I burn with, of adding those two
 " above-mentioned fine and glorious Titles to
 " a King's, make every Thing easy and
 " honourable for me. My Chancellor will
 " explain my Will more fully unto you (f).

De Vic, and Calignon, the King's Commis- 1597.
 sioners arrived at *Vendôme* the 2d of February XCIX.
 1597, and tho' they had no other Power but Continua-
 that of representing the King's Intention con- tion of the
 cerning the Demands of the Assembly, ne- political
 vertheless the Assembly thought proper to ac- Assembly
 commodate as much as possible their just Ne- at Ven-
 cessity to his Majesty's Will; and for that End dôme.
 not only to answer the Articles brought by
 them, but also to recede as much as possible
 upon each of them, even much farther than the
 In-

(f) *Recueil des choses memor. arrivées en France sous*
Henry IV. p. 794. Thuan. lib. cxvii. with some little Dif-
ference, but not material.

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Henry IV. Instructions they had received of their Principals could bear; in Hopes that the said Principals would easily forgive them, whatever they should do, considering that they did it only for Peace-sake. Therefore, as to the Places wherein they had at first required the free, publick Exercise of their Religion, they accommodated themselves by Restrictions to whatever was conducive to the publick Peace. As to the Subsistence of the Ministers, they brought it so low, that the Sum was hardly sufficient for the fourth Part thereof: As to the Administration of Justice, instead of a mix'd Chamber in every Parliament, they desired but one in four: As to the Garisons, each Deputy required nothing more, but what he thought in Honour and Conscience was absolutely necessary for the Security of his Principal: And so on, as to the other Articles in proportion. Whereupon the King's Commissioners, seeing that their Powers were not full enough to make any further Concessions, and owning that the Deputies were gone far enough, and required nothing but what was just and reasonable to grant, they resolved to send the Lord of *Calignon* to his Majesty, for a more ample Power; and to require at the same time, that the Lord of *Schomberg*, Count of *Nanteuil*, and *James August Thuanus*, the Historian, President in the Parliament of *Paris*, (who were at *Tours*, on account of the Treaty with the Duke of *Mercoeur*) to be adjoined with them, to render that Transaction more solemn and authentick. *Calignon*, *De Vic*, *Schomberg*, and *Thuanus* arrived at *Saumur*, whither the Assembly had been transferred, on the 18th of *March*.

The Deputies questioned not in the least, but that such Persons of that Rank, Quality and

and Probity, being employ'd in that Negotia-
tion, it would come speedily to a happy Con-
clusion: But they were much surpris'd, when
they found that their Instructions and Powers
were not fuller than the former, and that they
were not authoris'd to grant them any thing
more than the last Year; giving for Reason,
the sad Condition the King and the Kingdom
were then in, *Amiens* having been taken by the
Spaniards. And tho' the Lord *De Vic*, went
again to Court, to try whether he could ob-
tain any thing more, tho' his Majesty was will-
ing, nevertheless his Council oppos'd to their
utmost his gracious Intentions, and sent back
De Vic, as he was come, charging calumniously
the Reformed with all the Misfortunes the
Kingdom groaned under, and which indeed
were intirely owing to their own Treachery
and Wickedness. So then, the Assembly broke
up, the King's Commissioners returned to Court,
and most part of the Deputies to their Provin-
ces, resolv'd to meet again very soon, as they
did in *June* next at *Cbatelleraud* (g).

Henry IV.
1597.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

The particular Relation of the Transactions
of this Assembly with the King's Commis-
sioners, of their respective Goings and Comings,
from this Time to the Conclusion of that knotty
Affair in *April* next Year, are not at all neces-
sary for the right understanding of our History,
and in truth they are too tedious in them-
selves, not to be nauseous to the Reader as well
as to the Writer. Therefore it will be more
proper to end this Article, with three or four
Reflexions sufficient to set forth the Occasion
of the King's Delays; of his Reformed Sub-
jects Suspicions and Jealousies; of their back-
wardness in assisting the King, when he under-
took

C.
Some fur-
ther Con-
siderations
upon that
Affair.

(g) Supplement aux Mem. de Monf. Du Plessis, ibid.

Henry IV. took the Siege of *Amiens*; and of the King's
 1597. granting them at last the famous Edict of
 Pope Cle. Nantz.
 ment VIII

Cl. One must be surpris'd to find so much Re-
Causes of luctancy in the King, to grant his Reformed
the King's Subjects the just Satisfaction they required, so
Delays. many Difficulties started in their Way, for so
 many Years since his Majesty's Accession to the
 Crown. They who, for supporting his Right,
 had so freely shed their Blood, and exposed
 themselves to so many Hardships, for above
 22 Years together. They, without whom, it
 would have been impossible for him to get into
 his own Inheritance, at least at the Time when
 the Providence of God called him to it. They,
 in a word, to whom he stood indebted for his
 very Life! It would be needless to observe that
 GRATITUDE is not always the favourite Virtue
 of Princes. That is not the Case at present,
 and we must look elsewhere for the true Grounds
 and Reasons of this extraordinary Conduct.

The best Account that I can give is, that
Henry could not safely, and much less effica-
 ciously, grant the Reformed their just Petitions.
 I say, that he could not do it safely as to him-
 self, before he had subdued his Enemies, either
 by Force, or by the manifold Favours which
 he heap'd upon them. He had been forced to
 abjure his Religion for defeating the Designs
 not only of the Leaguers, but even of the Ca-
 tholicks that had at first adhered unto him, and
 whose Views, tho' different from the Leaguers,
 agreed nevertheless in this Point to exclude him
 from the Crown, if he did persist any longer
 in his Religion. Tho' he complied at last out-
 wardly, they had still much more reason to
 question the Sincerity of such a Prince, whom
 they knew to be almost as learned in both Re-
 ligions

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ligions as any of the Prelates and Divines with Henry IV. whom he had to confer at *St. Denis*; and who, ^{1597.} they were very certain, had complied only by ^{Pope Cle-} Force, and for extricating himself out of his ^{ment VIII} Troubles. His Enemies missed no Opportunity of rendering his pretended Conversion dubious and suspectful at the Court of *Rome*. Some hot-headed Reformed helped much, by their Imprudence, to keep up these Jealousies, bragging publickly that the Catholicks possessed only the Body of the King, but that they, the Reformed, had his Heart and his very Soul, which he would shew forth, as soon as he was firmly settled upon his Throne. These things, and such like other Stuff being spread abroad in the Kingdom, and at *Rome*, produced these three bad Effects; first, that it rendered the *Pope* more difficult to be reconciled with the King, which Reconciliation could not be purchased but upon very hard Terms and shameful Conditions. Secondly, the Catholick Zealots took from thence a Pretence to plot against the King's Person and Government, he had already escaped twice from the Hands of two Murderers, which had been procured to murder him; and, this very Year about the 17th of *March*, was providentially discovered another Plot against the King and the Government. For as the Lord *Du Plessis* went to pay a Visit to the Dutchess of *Elbauf*, who lodged near the Post-Office at *Saumur*, he met there a Courier just arrived, who waited for fresh Horses; he knew him, and asked him from whence he came, and whither he went, he told him, that he came from the Lord-Chancellor, and went to the Lord of *La Rochepot*, at *Angers*. Whereupon *Du Plessis* came up to the Dutchess's Chamber, but recollecting himself, and considering that there

Henry IV. there was little or no Correspondence between
 1597. the Chancellor and *Rocheport*, he began to suspect
 Pope Cle- something, and came down to examine the Man
 ment VIII. more strictly; he grew pale, and having been
 searched, Letters and Memoirs of the Cardinal of
Austria, directed to the Duke of *Mercaur*, and
 to *Dom' Mendoza*, Agent of *Spain* in *Britanny*,
 were found upon him; whereupon the Courier
 was arrested, sent to *Paris*, tried by the Parlia-
 ment, condemned and executed with his Uncle;
Carpentier an Attorney, who was Head of a
 secret Council which the King of *Spain* had at
Paris for distributing his Bribes. By these Pa-
 pers, it appeared that the said King did keep
 Intelligences in several Provinces and Cities,
 such as *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Rouën*, *Rheims*, &c.
 and with several great Lords; that the Duke
 of *Mercaur* was obstinately bent to the Ruin
 of the State, pretending to re-unite in his own
 Person the chimerical Pretensions of the Princes
 of the League, who had submitted to the King;
 and the Kingdom was to be rended in several
 Parts, to gratify the Ambition of as many great
 Lords, whose Names the Parliament thought
 proper to suppress, as well as several other Ar-
 ticles of the Plot itself, for not provoking the
 great Men who had a hand therein. The
 Duke of *Mercaur* held still obstinately in *Brit-
 tanny*, being supported by *Spain*; *Picardy* was
 opened to the *Spaniards*, they had taken several
 Towns in that Province, and of late the City
 of *Amiens*, which having been left by its Treaty
 with the King, to the Guardianship of its In-
 habitants, had been surprized by *Ferdinand
 Tello de Portocarrero*, which Accident put the
 whole Court into the utmost Confusion. Third-
 ly, these States Reasons obliged the King to be
 extremely cautious, and not to grant any thing

to the Reformed, whereby he should give Of-
fence to the Leaguers newly reconciled, lest
they should stir up new Wars. Nay, it was
Du Plessis's Opinion after the King's Change,
as he told him in his Letter; that he had put
it out of his power to grant; of his own ac-
cord, any Favour to the Reformed, and that his
Interest required that, for the future, he should
be importuned, to the end that those, with
whom he sought to be reconciled, might be
fully convinced that his former Affections were
thoroughly altered, &c (b). That was indeed
a Secret, known only to four or five of his
most trusty Counsellors, such as *Du Plessis*,
Schomberg, *De Calignon*, &c.

Not only, *Henry* could not safely relieve his
Reformed Subjects during the first eight Years
of his Reign, but it was not in his power to
do it efficaciously. Their Enemies in his Privy-
Council opposed to their utmost his good In-
tentions, and if he prevailed at any time, he
was sure to be thwarted, either in the great
Council, or in the Parliaments; his Authority
was then so fickle and unsettled in those Times
of Trouble and Confusion, that generally speak-
ing, his Orders were neglected, and those who
had any Relation to the Reformed for their Re-
lief, were quite unregarded. To what purpose
then should he have granted the Reformed such
an Edict as they required?

But I am not at all surpris'd, to find not only
some Writers of those Days, but even the whole
Body of the Reformed complain bitterly of the
King's Disregard to them, which they consider-
ed as a Piece of Injustice and Ingratitude; they
were not able to dive into the inmost Re-
cesses of his Heart, and the cruel Hardships

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where-

(b) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. II.

Henry IV.
1597.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

CII.
*Occasions
of the Fed-
alousies of
the Re-
formed.*

Henry IV. where-under they groaned every where, aff
^{1597.}
 Pope Cle- ed them but too just Reasons to complain.
 ment VIII their Request *Du Plessis* had published a l
 { this Year without the Author's Name, u
 this Title ; *Complaints of the Reformed Chur*
in France, about the Violences they suffer in
Places of the Kingdom, for which they ha
several Times applied themselves, with all F
lity, to his Majesty and the Lords of his Co
 It contained in Substance the same Compl
 that were set forth in a Petition presented t
 King at the Siege of *La Fere*, with an Ade
 of some new Matters of Fact, besides an
 teration in the Form. It is not to be im
 ed what the Reformed suffered from Catho
 in Places wherein they were the weakest ;
 burning excepted, their Condition differe
 from what it had been under the worst o
 four preceding Reigns. No wonder then, if
 murmured loudly ; it is rather to be won
 if they did not exceed the just Bounds a
 ungrateful Wretches whom they had bu
 now delivered out of the Bondage of the Le
 at the peril of their Lives. And indeed
 long Forbearance was chiefly owing to th
 treaties of *Du Plessis*, and of a few others,
 moderate Men, who were thoroughly acqu
 with the King's good Intentions. But that
 could not persuade the Assembly to sen
 Succours to the King, for the re-takin
Amiens ; their Reasons were plausible enc
 their Forces were hardly sufficient to cope
 the Duke of *Mercœur*, who made frequen
 cursions in all the Provinces bordering
Britanny. Nevertheless the Lord of *Scho*
 having met the Assembly at *Châtelberaula*
 vailed so far upon them by the Strength o
 Arguments, that he persuaded the Dukes
Tremouille, and *Bouillon*, the first to raise

Regiments of Foot in *Poitou*; and the second Henry IV. to do the same in the *Limosine*, for the King's ^{1597.} *Pope Cle-* Service. Which however could not join his ^{ment VIII} Army, because the first were employed to watch the Motions of *Villebois* who had rebelled of late, and of three or four other Rebels who ransacked the Country. And, whereas the Countries of *Auvergne* and *Givaudan* were in great Confusion by the Siege of *Mandes*, the Duke of *Bouillon* was obliged to stay so long in these Countries, that he could not join the King's Army soon enough for being present at the Siege of *Amiens*, as he had promised (*j*). This I willingly observe against the Duke of *Sully*, who has not been ashamed to gratify his Jealousies at the Expence of Truth itself; calumniating Virtue itself, I mean the Lord *Du Plessis*, whom he charges in his Memoirs with the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Trimouille*, as if they had been of the Number of some few hot-headed of the Assembly at *Chatelberauld*, who were for coming to Extremes (*i*). *Thuanus*, and *Du Plessis Mornay*, are indeed better to be credited than *Sully*, whereof I shall give the Character in its proper Place.

After the Retreat of Arch-Duke *Albert*, who ^{Citt.} was come at the Head of an Army of twenty ^{Occasions} five thousand Men strong, to force the King ^{of the} to raise the Siege of *Amiens*, that City surren- ^{King's} dered in the End of *September*; which Sur- ^{granting} render was attended with very good Consequen- ^{at last the} ces for the King and the Kingdom. For the ^{Edict of} Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, which had been ^{Nantz} on foot for some Months before the taking of *Amiens*.

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(*j*) *Thuan. lib. cxviii. p. 749, 750.*

(*i*) *Mem. de Sully, Tom. I. pag. 189.* And it is certain that whole Regiments of Reformed, as that of *Navarre*, and several Lords Volunteers, were in the King's Army before *Amiens*.

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Henry IV. *Amiens*, and had been carried on with Success.

1597. at the Pope's Interposition by *Bonaventure* of
Pope Cle- *Calatagirone*, General of the *Franciscan* Friars,
ment VIII

was renewed, and happily concluded at *Vervins*.

The Duke of *Mercaur* was very glad to accept of a Suspension of Arms for three Months.

1598. At last the King took the Field in the Month of *February*, and marching at the Head of 12,000 Foot and 2,000 Horse for the Reduction of the said Duke, several Places upon the Frontiers of *Britanny*, as *Craon* and *Roche-fort* in *Anjou*, *Montjan* in *Mayne*, *Mirebeau* in *Touraine*, *Tifauges* in *Poitou*, &c. surrendered themselves, and brought their Keys to his Majesty while upon the Road ; so that the Duke of *Mercaur* stupify'd at this extraordinary Progress, sent the Duchess his Lady to the King at *Angers*, to treat with his Majesty. Tho' the Duke had been exceedingly obstinate for many Years, nevertheless, in Consideration of the Marriage of his only Daughter with *Cæsar* Duke of *Vendôme*, natural Son to the King, his Majesty granted him Terms almost as honourable and advantageous as he could have obtained for himself, when in the height of his Prosperity. While that knotty Affair was transacting, the King's Council sat in earnest upon that of the Reformed, which had been the second Reason why the King had undertook this Journey at the Instances of *De Vic*, *Thuanus*, *Calignon*, and *Schomberg*. This last, tho' a *Lutheran*, had told more than once to his Majesty, that his poor Reformed Subjects were sick, not with the Fumes of Rebellion, but with just Fears and Jealousies, and that it was but just to cure them, by granting their just Demands. The Dukes of *Bouillon* and *La Trimouille* were very kindly received by the King at *Angers*. And almost
all

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all the Difficulties having been adjusted in that Henry City, the Articles and Forms of Grants were ¹⁵⁹⁸ finally agreed upon, and the Whole was carried ^{Pope's} ^{ment V} to *Nantz*, where the King having altered what he pleased, to show that he granted it freely and with a full Authority, it was at last signed and sealed up in that City, on the 30th of *April* 1598, and delivered into the Deputies Hands, who transmitted it to *Rochelle*, where the general Records of the Reformed Churches were kept. That Edict was as follows :

EDICT of *NANTZ*.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of *France and Navarre*, to all those present, and others to come, GREETING. Among those inestimable Blessings, it has pleased Almighty God to impart unto us, the greatest and most remarkable is, to have given us the Constancy, Virtue, and Strength, not to sink under the horrible Troubles, Confusions, and Disorders, which were on foot at our coming to the Crown of this Kingdom, which was divided into so many Parties and Factions, that that which was the most lawful, was almost the last ; and yet, nevertheless, to have borne up so stiffly against that Storm, as in the End to have overcome it, and to be now entered into the Haven of Safety and Repose of this State. The absolute Glory whereof be ascribed to him alone, and to us the Favour and Obligation, in that he was pleas'd to make use of our Labour for the Performance of so good a Work, in which it has been visible to the whole World, That we have, over and above the Discharge of our Duty and Power, done something further, which perhaps at another


be determin'd otherwise than by Force
to defer and suspend for a Time such as
and could be treated by Reason and]
Such as the general Differences amon
good Subjects, and the particular Gri
of the soundest Part of the State, wh
our Opinion will be more easily cur'd
having remov'd the principal Cause t
which was the Continuation of the Civi
Which having, by the Grace of God, f
fully ended, and Arms, and Hostilities
quite laid aside throughout our Kingdon
hope for as favourable Success in the
Affairs that still remain uncompos'd, an
thereby we shall obtain the Establishmen
good Peace, and quiet Repose, whic
ever been the Aim of all our Wishes a
tentions, and the only Prize we look for
so many Toils and Hardships wherein w
pass'd the Course of our Life. Among
Affairs we were oblig'd to delay, one
chief has been the Complaints we ha
ceiv'd from several of our Catholick P
ces and Cities, in that the Exercise of t

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made to us by our Subjects of the Pretended ^{Henry IV.} Reformed Religion, both upon the Unperform-^{1598.} ance of what is granted them by the said Edicts, ^{Pope Cle-} and their Desire of having some Additions made ^{ment VIII} thereunto for the Exercise of their said Religion, the Liberty of their Consciences, and the Surety of their Persons and Fortunes; pretending just Causes of new and greater Apprehensions, by reason of the last Troubles and Commotions; the chief Pretence and Foundation of which was their Ruin. All which, not to over-charge Ourselves with too much Business at one Instant; as also because the Terror of Arms does not suit with establishing of Laws, tho' never so good, we have still deferr'd from time to time to make Provision for, and take care of. But now, since it has pleas'd God to give a Beginning to our injoying of some Repose and Tranquillity, We esteem that we cannot imploy it better, than in applying Ourselves to what may concern the Glory of his Holy Name and Service, and in procuring his being ador'd and pray'd unto by all our Subjects: And that since it is not his Pleasure as yet, to grant that it may be done in one and the same Form of Religion, it may be done at least with one and the same Intention, and with such Rules, that it may occasion no Troubles or Tumults among them: And that both we, and all this Kingdom, may always deserve the glorious Title of Most Christian, which hath been so long, and so deservedly acquir'd: And by the same means to remove the Cause of the Grievances and Troubles which might arise hereafter upon the Point of Religion, which has always been the most prevailing and most dangerous of all others. Therefore, observing that this Affair is of very great Im-

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portance,

Henry IV. 1598. Pope Clement VIII.  portance, and worthy of weighty Consideration, after a resolving of all the Petitions and Complaints of our Catholick Subjects; and having also permitted our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion to assemble by Deputies to draw up theirs, and to put all their Remonstrances together; and having conferr'd several Times with them upon this Subject, and review'd the precedent Edicts; we have thought fit at this time, upon the Whole, to give our said Subjects an universal, clear, intelligible, and absolute Law, by which they shall be limited and govern'd in all Differences that have heretofore happen'd among them upon that Subject, or that may hereafter happen, whereby both Parties may remain satisfy'd, according as the Nature of the Time can allow it. We being entred into this Deliberation, for no other End, but the Zeal we have for the Service of God, in order that henceforward it may be perform'd by all our said Subjects; and to establish a firm and perpetual Peace among them: Wherein we implore, and expect from his Divine Goodness the same Protection and Favour, which he has ever visibly conferr'd upon this Kingdom, from the first Erection thereof, and during the many Ages it hath continued; and that he would bestow the Grace upon our said Subjects, truly to apprehend that in the Observation of this our Ordinance (next to their Duty towards God, and towards all Men,) consists the main Foundation of their Union, Concord, Tranquillity, and Quiet, and the Restoration of this State to its pristine Splendor, Wealth and Power. As we on our part do promise to have it exactly perform'd without permitting it to be any ways transgress'd.

For

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For these Reasons having by the Advice of the ^{Henry I V.} Princes of our Blood, other Princes and Officers ^{1598.} of our Crown, and other great and notable Per- ^{Pope Cle.} sons of our Council of State about us, maturely ^{ment VIII} and diligently weigh'd and consider'd the whole Business ; We have by this Edict perpetual and irrevocable, denounc'd, declar'd, and ordain'd, and do denounce, declare, and ordain,

I. That the Remembrance of all things pass'd on both sides, from the beginning of *March* 1585, until our coming to the Crown, and during the other precedent Troubles, or upon the account thereof, shall remain extinguish'd and raz'd out, as matters that never had happen'd. And it shall not be lawful for our Attorneys-General, or other Persons whatever, publick or private, at any time, or upon any occasion soever, to make mention of, or to commence any Process or Suit thereupon in any Courts or Jurisdictions whatsoever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects, of what Estate or Quality soever they be, to renew the Remembrance thereof; to assail, urge, or provoke one another by way of Reproach of what is past, upon any Cause or Pretence whatever; to dispute, contest, quarrel, or outrage, or offend each other about it by Word or Deed; but to contain themselves, and live peaceably together as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens; on pain for the Delinquents of being punish'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Disturbers of the publick Quiet.

III. We ordain, That the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion shall be re-establish'd and restor'd in all Places and Parts of this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, where the Exercise thereof hath been interrupted, there to be peaceably and freely put in practice without

Henry IV. without any hindrance or disturbance. For
 1598. bidding most expressly all Persons of what
 Pope Clement VIII Estate, Quality, or Condition soever, on the
 Penalties above-mentioned, to trouble, molest
 or disturb, the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration
 of divine Service, the enjoying and taking of
 Tythes, the Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices,
 with all other Rights and Immunities appertaining
 unto them; and that all those who during the
 Troubles, have seized the Churches, Houses, Goods,
 and Revenues belonging to the said Ecclesiasticks,
 detain and possess them, shall surrender unto them the
 entire Possession, and peaceable Enjoyment thereof
 with such Titles, Liberties, and Security as they
 enjoyed before their being dispossest of the same.
 Also expressly forbidding those of the said
 pretended Reformed Religion, to preach or perform
 any other Exercise of the said Religion in the
 Churches, Houses, and Habitations of the said
 Ecclesiasticks.

IV. It shall remain at the Choice of the said
 Ecclesiasticks to buy the Houses and Buildings
 erected in prophane Places, whereof they were
 dispossest during the Troubles, or else to constrain
 the Possessors of the said Buildings to buy the
 Ground, the whole according to the Estimation
 that shall be made thereof by the Viewers,
 agreed upon by the Parties; and in case they
 should not agree, the Judges of the Place shall
 appoint some, reserving ever to the said Possessors
 their Recourse against whomsoever it shall belong.
 And where the said Ecclesiasticks shall constrain
 the Possessors to purchase the Ground, the Money
 it shall be valued at, shall not be put into their
 hands, but shall remain in the hands of the said
 Possessors, to be improved at the rate of 5 per
 Cent.

Cent. until it be imployed for the benefit of Henry IV. the Church, which shall be done within the ^{1598.} Space of a Year. And the said Term being ^{Pope Cle-} pass'd, in case the Purchaser will no longer con- ^{ment VIII} tinue the said Rent, he shall be discharged thereof, consigning the said Money into the Hands of some solvable Persons, by Authority and Order of Justice. And as for sacred Places, Information thereof shall be given by the Commissaries, who shall be ordain'd for the Execution of the present Edict, in order to our taking a Course for the same.

V. Nevertheless, no Grounds and Places imploy'd for the Reparations and Fortifications of Cities, and other Places within our Kingdom, or the Materials therein used, shall be claim'd, or recover'd by the said Ecclesiasticks, or other Persons, publick or private, until the said Reparations and Fortifications are demolished by our Ordinances.

VI. And to remove all Occasions of Contention and Trouble from among our Subjects, we have and do permit those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion to live and reside in all the Cities and Places, within this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, without being examin'd, molested, troubled, or constrain'd to do any thing in matter of Religion against their Conscience; or examin'd in their Houses, or Places where they shall inhabit; in all other things behaving themselves according to what is specified in our present Edict.

VII. We have also permitted all Lords, Gentlemen, and other Persons, as well Inhabitants as others, who make Profession of the Pretended Reformed Religion, enjoying within our Kingdoms and Countries under our Obedience,

Henry IV. dience, High Jurisdiction, or * full *Fief d'Haubert*, (as in *Normandy*) either in Proper, in
 1598. *Pope Clement VIII* the Use-Fruit thereof, in the whole, or moiety,
 { or for a third part, to have in such their Houses of the said High Jurisdiction, or Fiefs above-
 said, which they shall be obliged to nominate before, to our Bailiffs and Seneschals; every one within his Limits, for their principal Abode, the Exercise of the said Religion, while they reside there; and in their absence their Wives or Families, or part thereof. And tho' the Right of Jurisdiction, or full *Fief d'Haubert* be in controversy; nevertheless the Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd there, provided the above-
 said be in actual Possession of the said High Jurisdiction, altho' our Attorney-General be a Party. We also allow them to perform the said Exercise in their other Houses of High Jurisdiction, or above-
Fief d'Haubert, while they are there present, and no otherwise; both for themselves, their Families, Subjects, and others, who shall desire to repair thither.

VIII. In Houses of Fiefs, where those of the said Religion shall not have the said High Jurisdiction or *Fief d'Haubert*, they shall only be allow'd the said Exercise for their Families. Nevertheless, we do not mean, that in case other Persons should chance to come in, to the number of Thirty, besides their Family, either upon the account of Baptism, Visitation of their Friends, or otherwise, they should be troubled for the same: Provided also the said Houses are neither within Cities, Towns, or Villages, be-
 longing to Catholick Lords, High-Justicers besides our self, wherein the said Catholick Lords have their Mansions. In which case
 those

* An Inheritance held directly in Capite of the King.

those of the said Religion shall not be allowed to perform their said Exercise in the said Cities, Towns, or Villages, except by permission and leave of the said Lords High-Justicers, and no otherwise. Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

IX. We also permit those of the said Religion, to perform and continue the Exercise thereof in all the Cities and Places under our Obedience, where it was establish'd, and by them publickly perform'd at sundry and divers times in the Year 1596, and in the Years 1597, until the end of *August*, all Decrees and Judgments to the contrary notwithstanding.

X. The said Exercise in like manner shall be establish'd and restor'd in all Places and Cities where it has, or should have been established by the Edict of Pacification, made in the Year Seventy-seven, particular Articles and Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*; neither shall the said Establishment be obstructed in the Parts and Places within the Demesne granted by the said Edict, Articles and Conferences, for Places of Bailiwicks, or that shall be granted hereafter, though they have been since alienated to Catholick Persons, or hereafter shall be. And yet we do not intend that the said Exercise shall be re-establish'd in the Parts and Places of the said Demesne, which have been heretofore possess'd by those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, in which it had been allowed out of respect to their Persons, or upon the Account of the Privileges of the Fiefs, in case the said Fiefs be at present possess'd by Persons of the said Catholick, Apostolick Religion.

XI. Moreover, in every one of the ancient Bailiwicks, Seneschalships and Governments, holding the Place of a Bailiwick, having direct
• Refe-

Henry IV. Reference, without Mediation to the Courts of
 1598. Parliament, we ordain, that in the Suburbs of
 Pope Cle- a City, besides those that have been granted
 mnet VIII them by the said Edict, particular Articles and
 Conferences: And where there are no Cities,
 in a Borough or Village, the Exercise of the
 said Pretended Reformed Religion shall be pub-
 licly performed for all such as will repair
 thither; altho' the said Exercise were already
 establish'd in divers places of the said Bailiwicks,
 Seneschalships, and Governments; excepting
 out of the said place of Bailiwick, newly granted
 by the present Edict, the Cities in which there
 are Archbishops or Bishops; in which case
 those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion
 shall be allow'd to demand, and to nominate
 for the said Place of the said Exercise, the
 Boroughs and Villages near the said Cities.
 Excepted also Places and Lordships belonging
 to Ecclesiasticks, in which we do not allow the
 said second Place of Bailiwick to be establish'd,
 we having by special Grace and Favour except-
 ed them. Under the Name of ancient Baili-
 wicks, we mean such as were in the Times of
 the late King *Henry* our most honour'd Lord
 and Father-in-Law, held for Bailiwicks, Se-
 neschalships and Governments, having imme-
 diate reference to our said Courts.

XII. We do not mean by this present Edict
 to derogate from the Edicts and Agreements
 heretofore made for the reducing of some
 Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick
 Cities under our Obedience, in what relates to
 the Exercise of the said Religion; the which
 Edicts and Agreements shall be maintain'd and
 observ'd for this respect, according as shall be
 specified by the Instructions of the Commis-
 sioners

tioners that shall be appointed for the Execution of this present Edict. Henry IV. 1598.

XIII. We expressly forbid all those of the said Religion, to perform any Exercise thereof, either as to the Ministry, Government, Discipline, or publick Instruction of Children, and others, in this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, in what relates to Religion, in any Places, but those that are allowed and granted by the Edict. Pope Clement VIII

XIV. As also to perform any Exercise of the said Religion in our Court or Attendance, nor likewise in our Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, nor yet in our City of *Paris*, nor within five Leagues of the said City. Nevertheless, those of the said Religion who live in the said Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, and in our said City, and within five Leagues round about it, shall not be examined in their Houses, nor constrained to do any thing in respect of their Religion against their Conscience, behaving themselves, in other Matters, according as it is specified in our present Edict.

XV. Neither shall the publick Exercise of the said Religion be performed in the Armies, unless in the Quarters of the Chief Officers who profess the same; nevertheless it shall not be done in the Quarter where we lodge.

XVI. According to the second Article of the Conference at *Nerac*, we give leave to those of the said Religion to build Places for the Exercise thereof, in the Cities and Places where it is allowed them; and those they have built heretofore, shall be restor'd to them, or the Ground thereof, in the Condition it is at present, even in those Places where the said Exercise is not allow'd them, unless they have been converted into other Buildings. In which case the Possessors

ers, and others who speak in public
any Words, Speeches, or Discourse,
tend to excite the People to Sedition
the contrary we have injoin'd, and
them, to contain and behave themse
destly, and to utter nothing but w
tend to the Instruction and Edificati
Auditors; and to maintain the P
Tranquillity by us establish'd in our fa
dom, on the Penalties specify'd in
cedent Edicts. Injoining most exp
Attorneys-General, and their Substitut
form out of their Office against such
transgress the same, on pain of answ
it in their proper and peculiar Pers
Forfeitures of their Offices.

XVIII. We also forbid all our Sub
what Quality and Condition soever,
away by Force or Induction, against
of their Parents, the Children of tho
said Religion, to baptize, or confirm
the Catholick, Apostolick *Roman*
The same Prohibitions are made to
the said Pretended Reformed Relig

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of the said Religion, neither shall they be any ways troubled or molested for the same.

Henry IV.

1598.

Pope Clement VIII

XX. They shall also be bound to observe all Festivals ordain'd in the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church; neither shall they work, or sell in open Shops, on the said Days; neither shall Handicrafts-Men work out of their Shops, or in close Houses, or Chambers, on the said Festival Days, and other prohibited Days, in any Profession, the Noise whereof may be heard without by Neighbours, or Persons passing along: Which nevertheless shall only be sought after by Officers of Justice,

XXI. The Books touching the said Pretended Reformed Religion, shall neither be printed nor sold publickly unless in such Cities and Places in which the Publick Exercise of the said Religion is allow'd. And as for other Books which shall be printed in other Places, they shall be seen and examin'd both by our Officers and Divines, as it is specify'd by our Ordinances. We forbid most expressly the Impression, Publication, and Sale of all defamatory Books, Libels and Pamphlets, under the Penalties contain'd in our Ordinances; in-joining all our Judges and Officers to keep a strict Hand over it.

XXII. We ordain that no Difference or Distinction shall be made on the account of the said Religion, for the receiving of Scholars to be instructed in Universities, Colleges and Schools, and the Sick and Poor in Hospitals and Publick Alms.

XXIII. Those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall be oblig'd to keep the Laws of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church, receiv'd in this our Kingdom, in re-

Henry IV spect to Marriages contracted, or to be con-
 1598. tracted as to the Degrees of Consanguinity and
 Pope Cle- Affinity.
 ment VIII

XXIV. Those of the said Religion shall also pay the Fees of Entrance, as is customary, for the Places and Offices they shall be provided with, without being oblig'd to assist at any Ceremonies contrary to their said Religion: And being call'd to their Oath, they shall only be oblig'd to hold up their Hand, swear, and promise to God, that they will speak the Truth: Neither shall they be oblig'd to take a Dispensation for the Oath by them taken, at the passing of the Contracts and Obligations.

XXV. It is our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, of what State, Quality, or Condition soever, shall be obliged and constrained by fair and reasonable Means, and under the Penalties contain'd in the Edicts upon that Subject; to pay and acquit the Tythes of Curates, and other Ecclesiasticks, and to all other to whom they shall belong, according to the Use and Custom of the Places.

XXVI. The Disinheritations or Privations, either by disposing among the Living, or by way of Testament, made only out of Hatred, or upon the account of Religion, shall neither be valuable for the Time past, or Time to come, among our Subjects.

XXVII. In order the better to re-unite the Wills of our Subjects, according to our Intention, and to remove all Complaints for the future, We do declare all th e who do, or shall profess the said Pretended Reformed Religion, capable of holding or performing all
 Estates,

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Estates, Dignities, Offices, and Publick Places Henry IV. 1596. Pope Clement VIII
whatever, either Royal, Signorial, or of the Cities of our Kingdom, Countries, Territories and Lordships, under our Obedience, all Oaths to the contrary notwithstanding, and to be indifferently received into the same: And our Courts of Parliament and other Judges shall only make Inquiry, and inform themselves about the Life and Conversation, Religion and honest Conversation of those who are, or shall be provided with Offices, as well of the one, as of the other Religion, without exacting any other Oath from them, but well and faithfully to serve the King, in the Discharge of their Offices, and to observe the Ordinances, as it has been observ'd at all times. And in case any Vacancy shall happen of the said Estates, Places and Offices, as for those that shall be in our Gift, they shall be dispos'd of indifferently, and without Distinction, to capable Persons, as Things that concern the Union of our Subjects. We intend also that those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall be admitted and receiv'd into all Councils, Deliberations, Assemblies and Functions depending on the abovesaid Matters; and that they shall not be ejected or hinder'd from enjoying them upon the account of the said Religion.

XXVIII. We order for burying of the Dead of those of the said Religion, within all the Cities and Parts of our Kingdom, that in each Place, a convenient Place shall be provided for them forthwith by our Officers and Magistrates, and by the Commissioners who shall be by Us deputed for the putting of this present Edict in execution. And such Church-Yards as they had heretofore, which they

Henry IV. have been depriv'd of by reason of the Trou-
bles, shall be restor'd to them, except they be
^{1598.} *Pope Cle-* ment VII at present built upon; in which Case, others
shall be provided for them Gratis.

XXIX. We most expressly enjoin our Officers to take care that no Scandal be committed at the said Burials, and they shall be bound within a Fortnight after request made, to provide commodious Places for the said Burials of those of the said Religion, without the least Protraction, or Delays, under Penalty of five hundred Crowns, to be seiz'd on their proper Names and Persons. The said Officers and others are also forbidden to exact any thing for the Conveyance of the said dead Bodies, on pain of Extortion.

XXX. To the end that Justice may be done and ministr'd to our Subjects without Partiality, Hatred, or Favour, which is one of the principal Means to keep Peace and Concord among them; We have ordain'd, and do ordain that a Chamber shall be establish'd in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, consisting of a President and sixteen Counsellors of the said Parliament; the which shall be called and entitled, *The Chamber of Edict*; which shall not only judge the Causes and Processes of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion within the Jurisdiction of the said Court, but also those of the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Britany*, according to the Jurisdiction hereafter conferr'd upon it by this present Edict, and that until a Chamber be establish'd in each of the said Parliaments, to minister Justice upon the Place. We also ordain, that the four Offices of Counsellors in our said Parliament of *Paris*, remaining of the last Election by us made; shall be forthwith
be.

bestowed on four of those of the said ^{Henry IV.} ~~Pro-~~ ^{Pres.} ~~posed~~ ^{Reformed} Religion, fitly qualify'd, and ¹⁵⁹⁸ ~~capable~~ ^{capable} to serve in the said Parliament; who ¹⁵⁹⁸ ~~shall~~ ^{shall} be distributed, viz. The first shall be receiv'd into the Chamber of the Edict, and the other three in order as they shall be receiv'd into three of the Chambers of the Inquests. Moreover, the two first Offices of Lay-Counsellors, that shall become vacant by Death, shall also be given to two of those of the said ~~Presumed~~ ^{Presumed} Reformed Religion; and the Persons thus receiv'd, shall be distributed into the two other Chambers of Inquests.

XXXI. Besides the Chambers heretofore establish'd at *Casseres* for the Jurisdiction of our Court of Parliament of *Theolawse*, which shall be continu'd in the State it now stands; we have for the same Considerations ordain'd and do ordain, that in each of our Courts of Parliament of *Grenoble* and *Bordeaux*, shall also be establish'd a Chamber, consisting of two Presidents, the one Catholick and the other of the said ~~Presumed~~ ^{Presumed} Reformed Religion, and of twelve Counsellors; six of which shall be Catholicks, and the other six of the said Religion: which Catholick Presidents and Counsellors shall be by Us selected and chosen out of the Body of Our said Courts. And as to those of the said Religion, a new Creation shall be made of a President and six Counsellors for the Parliament of *Bordeaux*; and of a President and three Counsellors for that of *Grenoble*; the which, with the three Counsellors of the said Religion, that are at present of the said Parliament, shall be employ'd in the said Chamber of *Dauphiné*. And the said Offices of new Creation, shall be allow'd

Henry IV. the same Salaries, Honours, Authorities and
 1598. Pre-eminences, as the others of the said Courts.
 Pope Cle- And the said Sessions of the said Chamber of
 ment VIII *Bourdeaux*, shall be held at *Bourdeaux*, or at
Nerac, and that of *Dauphiné* at *Grenoble*.

XXXII. The said Chamber of *Dauphiné* shall determine the Causes of: those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion of the Jurisdiction of Our Parliament of *Provence*, without being oblig'd to take Letters of Summons, or other Citations, any where but in our Chancery of *Dauphiné*: Neither shall those of the said Religion of *Normandy* or *Britany* be oblig'd to take out Summons, or other Citations any where but in our Chancery of *Paris*.

XXXIII. Our Subjects of the said Religion of the Parliament of *Burgundy*, shall have the Choice and Election to plead in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, or in that of *Dauphiné*, neither shall they be oblig'd to take out Letters of Summons, or any other Citations, but in the said Chanceries of *Paris*, and of *Dauphiné*, according to their own Choice.

XXXIV. All the said Chambers compos'd as abovesaid, shall determine and judge in Sovereignty by Sentence Definitive, by Decrees excluding all others, of Suits and Differences mov'd and to be mov'd; in which those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion are concern'd as Principals, or Warranties, either as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, in all Matters, as well Civil as Criminal, whether the said Processes be by Writ, or Verbal Appeal, if the said Parties like it so, and one of them requires it, before any Plea in the Cause, in relation to Suits to be mov'd: Always excepting all matters of Benefices, and the Possessors of Tythes,

Tythes not enfeoff'd, Ecclesiastical Patronages, and Causes wherein the Demesne of the Church shall be concern'd, which shall all be try'd and judg'd in the Courts of Parliament; and the said Chambers of the Edict shall not be allow'd to take Cognizance of the same. It is also Our Will and Pleasure, that in order to judge and decide Criminal Causes, that shall happen among the said Ecclesiasticks, and those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, if the Ecclesiastick is Defendant, the Judgment of the Criminal Cause shall belong to our Sovereign Courts, exclusively to the said Chambers; and the Ecclesiastick being Plaintiff, and he of the said Religion Defendant, the Cognizance and Judgment of the Criminal Cause shall belong by Appeal, and in last Reference, to the said Establish'd Chambers. The said Chambers also in Vacation-Times shall determine of Matters referr'd by the Edicts and Ordinances to the Chambers establish'd in times of Vacation, each one in their Jurisdiction.

XXXV. The Chambers of *Grenoble* shall from this present be united and incorporated to the Body of the said Court of Parliament, and the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, intituled Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court, and held in the Number and Rank of them. To this end they shall be first dispos'd of in the other Chambers, and then call'd and drawn out of them, to be employ'd, and to serve in that which we institute a-new; yet they shall assist, and have a Vote and Suffrage in all the Deliberations that shall be made when the Chambers are assembled, and shall enjoy the same Salaries, Authorities and Pre-eminencies, as the other Presidents and Counsellors do.

Henry IV. XXXVI. It is also Our Will and Pleasure,
 1598. that the said Chambers of *Castres* and *Bour-*
Pope Cle-
ment VIII *deaux*, shall be re-united, and incorporated into
 the said Parliaments, in the same manner as
 the others, when it shall be needful, and the
 Causes that have mov'd Us to establish them
 shall cease, and subsist no longer among our
 Subjects: And therefore the Presidents and
 Counsellors of the said Chambers, being of the
 same Religion, shall be call'd and held for
 Presidents and Counsellors of the said Courts.

XXXVII. There shall be also newly cre-
 ated and erected in the Chamber ordain'd for
 the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, two Substitutes
 of Our Attorney and Advocate-General, of
 which the Attorney's Substitute shall be a
 Catholick and the other of the said Religion,
 who shall be invested with the said Offices,
 with competent Pensions.

XXXVIII. All the said Substitutes shall
 take no other Quality than that of Substitutes;
 and when the Chambers ordain'd for the Par-
 liaments of *Bordeaux* and *Toulouse* shall be
 united and incorporated into the said Parlia-
 ments; the said Substitutes shall be provided
 with Counsellors Places in the same.

XXXIX. The Expeditions of the Chancery
 of the Chamber of *Bordeaux* shall be per-
 form'd in the presence of two Counsellors of
 the said Chamber; of which the one shall be
 a Catholick, and the other of the said Pre-
 tended Reformed Religion in the Absence of
 one of the Masters of Request of our Hôtel,
 or Household: And one of the Notaries and
 Secretaries of the said Court of Parliament of
Bordeaux, shall reside in the Place where the
 said Chamber shall be establish'd; or else one
 of the Secretaries in Ordinary of the Chance-
 ry,

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to sign the Expeditions of the said Chan- ^{Henry IV.}
cery. ^{1598.}

XL. We will and command, That in the ^{Pope Cle-}
said Chamber of *Bordeaux*, there be two ^{ment VIII}
Clerks of the Register of the said Parliament ;
the one Civil, the other Criminal ; who shall
officiate by Our Commissions, and shall be cal-
led Clerks of the Registry Civil and Cri-
minal ; and therefore shall neither be displac'd
nor revok'd by the said Registers, or chief
Clerks of Parliament : Yet they shall be oblig'd
to yield the Profit of the said Registries to
the said Register ; the which Clerks shall re-
ceive Salaries from the said Registers, accord-
ing as it shall be thought fit, and order'd by
the said Chamber. Moreover, Catholick Mes-
sengers shall be appointed there, who shall be
taken out of the said Court, or elsewhere, ac-
cording to our Pleasure ; besides which, two
new ones shall be erected, being of the said
Reformed Religion, without their paying any
Fees : All the said Messengers shall be directed
by the said Chamber, both as to the Execution,
and Precinct of their Office, as well as to the
Fees they shall receive. A Commission shall also
be dispatch'd for a Pay-Master of Salaries, and
a Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the Chamber,
who shall be chosen by Us, in case the said
Chamber be establish'd in any other Place but
the said City ; and the Commission heretofore
granted to the Pay-master of the Salaries of
the Chamber of *Castres*, shall remain in full
Force, and the Commission of Receiver of the
Fines levy'd by the said Chamber shall be
annex'd to the said Office.

XLI. Sufficient Assignations shall be pro-
vided for the Pensions or Salaries of the Of-
ficers of the Chambers ordain'd by this Edict.

Henry IV. XLII. The Presidents, Counsellors, and o-
 1596. ther Catholick Officers of the said Chambers,
 Pope Cle- shall be continu'd as long as possibly may be,
 ment VIII and as we shall find it most expedient for Our
 Service, and the Good of Our Subjects: And
 in dismissing some, others shall be appointed
 in their room before their Departure; and they
 shall not, during the time of their Waiting,
 absent themselves, or depart from the said
 Chambers, without their Leave, which shall
 be judg'd by the Proceedings of the Or-
 dinance.

XLIII. The said Chambers shall be esta-
 blish'd within six Months, during which, (if
 the Establishment continue so long a settling:)
 the Suits mov'd or to be mov'd, in which
 those of the said Religion shall be Parties,
 within the Jurisdiction of Our Parliaments of
Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes shall be re-
 mov'd, or summon'd to the Chamber at pre-
 sent establish'd at *Paris*, by virtue of the
 Edict of the Year 1577, or else to the
 Great Council, at the Election and Choice of
 those of the said Religion, if they require
 it: Those that are of the Parliament of *Bour-
 deaux*, into the Chamber of *Castres*, or to the
 said Great Council, at their Choice: And those
 that are of *Provence*, to the Parliament of *Gre-
 noble*. And in case the said Chambers be not
 establish'd within three Months after the Pre-
 sentation there made of this Our present Edict,
 such of Our Parliaments as shall have made
 Refusal thereof, shall be prohibited to take
 Cognizance, or judge the Causes of those of
 the said Religion.

XLIV. Suits not yet determin'd, depending
 in the said Courts of Parliament, and Grand
 Council, of the Nature abovesaid, shall be re-
 turn'd,

men'd, in what State soever they stand, into the said Chambers, each Cause to its Court of reference, in case one of the Parties of the said Religion requires it, within four Months after the Establishment thereof; and as for such as shall be discontinu'd, and are not in a State to come to trial, the above-mention'd of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to make a Declaration at the first Intimation and Signification they shall receive of the Pursuit; and the said Term being expir'd, they shall no longer be receiv'd to demand the said Returns.

XLV. The said Chambers of *Grenoble* and *Bordeaux*, as well as that of *Chartres*, shall observe the Stile and Forms of the Parliaments, within the Jurisdictions of which they shall be establish'd, and shall judge in equal Numbers both of the one, and other Religion, unless the Parties agree to the contrary.

XLVI. All the Judges, to whom the Executions, Decrees, Commissions, of the said Chambers, and Letters, obtain'd out of their Chanceries, shall be directed; as also all Messengers and Serjeants shall be bound to put them in execution; and the Messengers and Serjeants shall also be oblig'd to serve all their Warrants in all Parts of the Kingdom, without demanding *Placet*, *Visa*, nor *Pareatis*, on pain of Suspension of their Places, and paying the Damages, Charges and Interests of the Parties: The Censure whereof shall belong to the said Chambers.

XLVII. No Removal of Causes shall be allow'd, the trial of which is referr'd to the said Chambers, unless in the Case of the Ordinances, the Return whereof shall be made to the nearest Chamber establish'd according to Our Edict: And the Issues of Suits of the said

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. said Chamber shall be try'd in the next Chamber, observing the Proportion and Forms of
 1598.
 Pope Clement VIII the said Chamber, from whence the Process shall proceed, except for the Chambers of the
 Edict in our Parliament of *Paris*; where the said Party-Suits shall be dispos'd of in the said Chamber, by Judges that shall be by Us nominated by our particular Letters to this end, unless the Parties had rather attend the Renovation of the said Chamber. And if it should happen that one and the same Suit should pass through all the Party-Chambers, the like thereof shall be return'd to the said Chamber of *Paris*.

XLVIII. Refusals propos'd against the Presidents and Counsellors of the Party-Chambers shall be allow'd to the Number of six, to which Number the Parties shall be restrain'd, otherwise they shall go forward without any regard to the said Refusals.

XLIX. The Examination of Presidents and Counsellors newly erected in the said Party-Chambers, shall be perform'd by Our Privy-Council, or by the said Chambers, each one within its Precincts, when their Number shall be sufficient: Nevertheless, the usual Oath shall be by them taken in the Courts where the said Chamber shall be establish'd, and upon their Refusal, in Our Privy-Council; except those of the Chamber of *Languedoc*, who shall take their Oath before Our Chancellor, or in the said Chamber.

L. We Will and Ordain, That the Reception of Our Officers of the said Religion, shall be judg'd in the said Party-Chambers by the Plurality of Votes; as it is usual in other Judgments, it not being requisite that the Votes should surpass two Thirds, according

to the Ordinance, the which in this respect ^{Henry IV.} is abrogated. 1598.

L. All Propositions, Deliberations and Resolutions, relating to the Publick Peace, and for the particular Estate and Policy of the Cities, where the Party-Chambers shall reside, shall be made in the said Chambers. Pope Clement VIII.

LII. The Article of the Jurisdiction of the said Chambers, ordain'd by the present Edict, shall be follow'd and observ'd according to its Tenor and Tenor, even in what relates to the Execution, Omission, or Infraction of Our Edicts, when those of the said Religion shall be Parties.

LIII. The Subaltern Officers Royal, or others, the Reception of which belongs to Our Courts of Parliament, if they be of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, may be examin'd and receiv'd in the said Chambers: *viz.* Those of the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Normandy*, and *Britany*, in the said Chambers of *Paris*; those of *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, in the Chamber of *Grenoble*; those of *Burgundy*, in the said Chamber of *Paris*; or of *Dauphiné*, at their Choice; those of the Jurisdiction of *Toulouse*, in the Chamber of *Castres*; and those of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, in the Chamber of *Guyenne*; and no other to oppose their Receptions, or make themselves Parties, but Our Attorneys-General, and their Substitutes, and those placed in the said Offices. Nevertheless, the accustomed Oath shall by them be taken in the Courts of Parliament, which shall not be allow'd to take cognizance of their Reception; and upon the Refusal of the said Parliament, the said Officers shall take the Oath in the said Chambers; which being thus taken, they shall be obliged

Henry IV. oblig'd to present the Act of their Reception, by a Messenger or Notary to the Registers of the said Courts of Parliament, and to leave a compar'd Copy thereof, with the said Registers; who are enjoin'd to register the said Acts, on pain of paying all the Charges, Damages and Interests of the Parties: And in case the Registers should refuse to do it, it shall be sufficient for the said Officers to bring back the Act of the said Summons, drawn by the said Messengers, or Notaries, and to cause the same to be recorded in the Registers of their said Jurisdictions; there to be view'd when Need shall require, on pain of Nullity of their Proceedings and Judgments. And as for those Officers, whose Reception is not to be made in Our said Parliaments; in case those by whom it ought to be made should refuse to proceed to the said Examination and Reception, the said Officers shall repair to the said Chambers, where care shall be taken for their said Reception.

1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

LIV. The Officers of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall be chosen hereafter, to serve in the Body of Our said Court of Parliament, Grand Council, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, and in the Office of the Treasurer-General of *France*, and other Officers of the Exchequers, shall be examin'd and receiv'd in the Places where it was usually perform'd; and in case of Refusal, or Denial of Justice, they shall be constituted in Our Privy-Council.

LV. The Reception of Our Officers made in the Chamber establish'd heretofore at *Castres*, shall remain in force, all Decrees and Ordinances thereunto contrary, notwithstanding. The Reception of Our Judges, Counsellors and other

other Officers of the said Religion, made in ^{Henry IV.} Our Privy-Council, or by Commissioners by Us ^{1598.} nominated upon the Refusal of Our Courts of ^{Pope Cle-} Parliament, of Aids, and Chambers of Ac- ^{ment VIII} count, shall also be as valid, as if they had been made in the said Courts and Chambers and by other Judges, to whom those Receptions appertain. And their Salaries shall be allow'd by the Chambers of Accounts, without Difficulty: And if any have been dismiss'd, they shall be re-establish'd without any farther *Mandamus* than this present Edict; and the said Officers shall not be oblig'd to show any other Reception; all Decrees given to the contrary notwithstanding; the which shall remain void, and of no effect.

LVI. Until Means be procur'd to defray the Expences of Justice of Our said Chambers out of the Moneys of Fines and Confiscations, we will assign a valuable and sufficient Fund to discharge the said Expences, which Money shall be return'd out of the Estates of the Persons condemned.

LVII. The Presidents and Counsellors of the said Pretended Reformed Religion heretofore receiv'd into Our Courts of Parliament of *Dauphiné*, and in the Chamber of the Edict, incorporated into the same, shall continue and hold their Place and Order there, *viz.* The Presidents as they did and do enjoy them at present; and the Counsellors according to the Decrees and Patents they have obtain'd about it in Our Privy-Council.

LVIII. We declare all Sentences, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales, and Orders made and given against those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, whether dead, or alive, since the Death of the late

King

Henry IV. King *Henry* the Second, our most honour'd Lord
 1598. and Father-in-Law, by reason of the said Reli-
 Pope Cle- gion, Tumults and Troubles happen'd since,
 ment VIII together with the Execution of the said Judg-
 ments and Decrees from this present, cancelled,
 revoked, and nullified, and the same do cancel,
 revoke, and nullify. We order the same to
 be raz'd and wip'd out of the Records of the
 Registers of Courts, as well sovereign as infe-
 rior. As it is likewise our Pleasure, that all
 Marks, Tracks and Monuments of the said Ex-
 ecutions, Books and Acts defamatory to their
 Persons, Memory and Posterity, shall be re-
 mov'd and defac'd: And that the Places in
 which have been made upon that account, De-
 molishments or Razings, shall be restor'd to
 the Owners in such a Condition as they are,
 the same to enjoy and to dispose of as they shall
 think fit. And we have generally revok'd,
 cancell'd, and nullified all Proceedings and In-
 formations made for any Enterprizes whatever,
 pretended Crimes of Lese-Majesty and others.
 Notwithstanding which Proceedings, Decrees
 and Judgments, comprehending Reunion, In-
 corporation, and Confiscation, it is our Plea-
 sure that those of the said Religion, and others
 who have been engag'd in their Party, and their
 Heirs, shall re-enter into the real and actual
 possession of all and every their Estates.

LIX. All Proceedings made, Judgments
 and Decrees given during the Troubles, against
 those of the said Religion, who have born
 Arms, or withdrawn themselves out of our
 Realm or within the same, into Cities and
 Countries held by them upon another account
 than that of Religion and the Troubles, toge-
 ther with all Nonsuits and Prescriptions, either
 legal, conventional, or customary, and feudal
 Seizures,

Seizures, befallen during the Troubles, or by Henry IV. lawful Impediments proceeding from them, the ^{1598.} Pope Cle- cognizance whereof shall remain in our Judges, ^{ment VIII} shall be esteem'd as not perform'd, granted, or happen'd; and such we have declared, and do declare them to be, and have annihilated and do annihilate them; for all which the said Parties shall have no other redress: but to be restor'd to the same state in which they were before, the said Decrees and Execution thereof notwithstanding; and the Possession they had formerly, shall be restor'd to them in this respect. What is above-mention'd shall also take place, in relation to others who have been engag'd in the Party of those of the said Religion, or that have absented themselves out of our Kingdom, by reason of the Troubles. And as for the Children under age of those of the Quality abovesaid, who died during the Troubles, we restore the Parties to the same Estate in which they were before, without refunding the Charges, or being bound to consign the Fines or Amerciaments; but yet we do not mean that Judgments given by presidial or other inferiour Judges, against those of the said Religion, or those who have been engaged in their Party, should remain void, if given by Judges, holding Sessions in Cities held by them, to which they had a free Access.

LX. The Decrees given in our Courts of Parliament, in matters, the Cognizance whereof belongs to the Chambers ordain'd by the Edict in the Year 1577. and the Articles of *Nerac* and *Flex*, in which Courts the Parties have not proceeded voluntarily, that is, they have alledg'd and propos'd Ends declinatory, or that have been given by Default or Exclusion,

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Henry IV. sion, either in Matters civil or criminal, not-
 1598. withstanding which Ends, the said Parties have
 Pope Cle- been constrain'd to go forward, shall likewise be
 ment VIII annihilated, and of no value. And as for the
 { Decrees given against those of the said Religion,
 who have proceeded voluntarily, without pro-
 posing declinatory Ends, the said Decrees shall
 remain in force; yet nevertheleess without pre-
 judice to the Execution thereof, they shall be
 allow'd, if they think good, to take some
 course by civil Request, before the Chambers
 ordain'd by the present Edict; and the Time
 run on, mention'd by the Ordinances, shall
 be no prejudice to them; and until the said
 Chambers, and their Chanceries are establish'd,
 the verbal Appeals or those by Writ brought in
 by those of the said Religion, before the Judges,
 Registers, or Commissioners, Executors, of De-
 crees and Judgments, shall take the same Ef-
 fect, as if they had been sued out by Letters
 Patent.

LXI. In all Inquiries that shall be made up-
 on any Occasion whatsoever, in Civil Matters,
 if the Inquisitor or Commissary be a Catholick,
 the Parties shall be obliged to agree about an
 Associate; and in case they cannot agree about
 one, the said Inquisitor or Commissary shall
 take one out of the Office, being of the said
 Pretended Reformed Religion; and the same
 shall be practised when the Commissary or In-
 quisitor shall be of the said Religion, for a Ca-
 tholick Adjunct.

LXII. We will and ordain, That our Judges
 shall determine the Validity of Testaments, in
 which those of the said Religion shall be con-
 cern'd, if they require it; and the Appeals of
 the said Judgments may be sued out by those
 of the said Religion, notwithstanding all Cus-
 toms

toms contrary thereunto, even those of *Brittany*. Henry IV.

LXIII. To prevent all Differences that might happen between Our Courts of Parliament, and the Chambers of the said Courts, ordain'd by Our present Edict; We will set down an ample and plain Order between the said Courts and Chambers, by which those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall fully enjoy the Benefit of the said Edict. Which Order shall be verified in Our Courts of Parliament, which shall be kept and observ'd without having a Respect to those that have been made before. 1598.
Pope Clement VIII

LXIV. We prohibit and forbid all Our Sovereign Courts, and others of this Kingdom, to take Cognizance; and judge the Processes, Civil and Criminal, of those of the said Religion, the Trial whereof, by Our Edict, is refer'd to the said Chambers, provided the Return be demanded, as it is specify'd by the fortieth Article above-written.

LXV. Our Will also is, by way of Provision, until We have otherwise ordain'd it, that in all Suits mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which those of the said Religion shall stand as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, principal Parties, or Warrantees in Civil Causes, in which our Officers and Presidial Tribunals have Power to judge definitively; they be permitted to demand that two of the Chamber, where the Cause is to be try'd, abstain from the Judgment of them; who without alledging any Cause, shall be bound in this Case to abstain, notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Judges cannot be excepted against without just Cause; there remaining to them besides, Refusals of Right against the others. And in Criminal Cases, in which the said Presidial

Henry IV. Judges, and other subaltern or inferior Judges
 1598. Royal, judge definitively; the Persons im-
 Pope Cle- peach'd being of the said Religion, shall also
 ment VIII be allow'd to challenge three of the Judges
 peremptorily. The Provosts of the Marshals
 of *France*, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, Lieutenants of the Short-Robe, and other Officers of the like Quality, shall also judge according to the Ordinance and Rules heretofore given, in relation to Vagabonds. And as for House-keepers charg'd and impeach'd with any Provostal or publick Crime, if they be of the said Religion, they shall also be allow'd to demand that three of the said Judges, who may take Cognizance thereof, abstain from the Judgment of their Causes, which the said Judges shall be oblig'd to do, without any Expression of Cause; except when in the Assembly where the said Causes shall be judg'd, there happen to be the Number of two in Civil Matters, and three in Criminal Cases of those of the said Religion, in which Case they shall not be allow'd to challenge peremptorily, without showing Cause; the which shall be common and reciprocal to Catholicks in Manner and Form above-mention'd in respect to the Refusal of Judges, where those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall exceed the others in Number. Nevertheless, We do not mean that the said Presidial-Tribunals, Provosts-Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, and others, who judge definitively, should by virtue of what is abovesaid, take Cognizance of the Troubles past. And as for Crimes and Excesses committed upon other Occasions, than that of the Troubles past, from the Beginning of *March* 1585, to the End of the Year 1597, in Case they do take Cognizance of

of them: It is Our Will, that Appeals may be had from their Judgments, before the Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict; as shall in the like manner be practis'd for Catholick Accomplices, where some of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall be Parties.

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

LXVI. We also Will and Ordain, That henceforward in all Instructions, except Informations of Criminal Causes, in the Seneschalships of *Tbolouse, Carcassonne, Rouergue, Lauragais, Beziers, Montpellier* and *Nimes*, the Magistrate, or Commissary, deputed for the said Instruction, if he be a Catholick, shall be bound to take an Associate of the Pretended Reformed Religion, which the Parties shall agree about; and in Case they cannot agree, one of the said Religion shall be taken out of the Office, by the aforesaid Magistrate, or Commissary: As in like manner, If the Magistrate, or Commissary, be of the said Religion, he shall be oblig'd in the Manner and Form aforesaid to take a Catholick Assistant.

LXVII. When any Houfholder of the said Religion, being charg'd and accus'd of any publick Crimes, shall be try'd before the Provosts Marshals, or their Lieutenants, the said Provosts, or their Lieutenants, being Catholicks, shall be obliged to call to the Proceedings of such a Matter, an Assistant of the said Religion; who shall also assist at the Trial of the Competency of the Indictment, and at the Judgment definitive of the Matter; which Competency shall only be try'd at the next Residial Tribunal, in open Assembly, by the chief Officers of the said Court, being actually here on pain of Nullity, unless the Persons accus'd, desire to have the said Competency try'd in the Chambers ordain'd by the present

Henry IV. sent Edict. In which Case, in respect to the
 1598. Household-ers of the Provinces of *Guyenne, Lan-*
 Pope Cle- ment VIII. *guedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné*, the Substitutes
 of our Attorneys-General in the said Cham-
 bers, shall at the Request of the said Houf-
 holders, cause the said Charges and Informa-
 tions against them, to be brought before them,
 to know and determine, whether the Causes
 are liable to Provofts-Courts or not; in order,
 according to the Nature of the Crimes, to be
 return'd by the said Chambers to the Ordinary
 Judge, or else to be try'd by the Provoftal
 Judges, according as they shall judge it rea-
 sonable, and suitable to the Contents of this
 Our present Edict: And all the said Presidial-
 Judges, Provofts-Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-
 Seneschals, and others, who judge definitively,
 shall be oblig'd respectively to obey and ob-
 serve the Commands they shall receive from
 the said Chambers, as they use to respect the
 Orders of the said Parliaments, on Forfeiture
 of their Places.

LXVIII. The Publication of Sale, and Sei-
 zures, Outcries, and selling of Inheritances by
 the Spear, in pursuance of a Decree, shall be
 perform'd at the usual Places and Houses, if
 possible, according to Our Ordinances; or else
 in publick Market-Places, in Case there be
 any Market-Places in the Place where the said
 Inheritances are seated; and where there are
 none, it shall be done in the next Market-
 Place within the Precinct of the Session where
 the Adjudication is to be made, and the Paper
 of Notice shall be fasten'd on a Post in the
 said Market; and at the Entrance of the Au-
 ditorys, or Sessions-House of the said Place;
 and in so doing, the said Publications shall be
 good and valid, and they shall proceed to
 the

the Passing of the Order for the Sale of the Goods, without minding the Nullities that might be alledg'd in that respect.

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

LXIX. All Titles, Papers, Instruments, and Informations, that have been taken, shall be restored on both Sides to the Owners, altho' the said Papers, or the Castles, or Houses, in which they were kept, were taken and seiz'd, either by special Commissions from the late King, Our most honour'd Lord and Brother-in-Law; or from Us, or by the Command of the Governours and Lieutenants-General of Our Provinces, or by the Authority of the Chiefs of the other Side, or under any Pretence whatever.

LXX. The Children of such as have withdrawn themselves out of Our Kingdom, since the Death of the late King *Henry II.* Our most honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, on the account of Religion, and the Troubles, tho' the said Children be born out of this Kingdom, shall be held for true *Frenchmen* and Natives, and as such We have declar'd and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take Letters of Naturalization, or other Warrants from us, but the present Edict: All Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithstanding; to which We have derogated, and do derogate, upon Condition, that the said Children born in foreign Countries, shall be oblig'd within ten Years after the said Publication of these Presents, to come and reside in this Kingdom.

LXXI. Those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, who shall have taken no Farm, before the Troubles, any Offices, or other Demesnes, Customs, Foreign Impositions, or other Duties to Us belonging, the which

Henry IV. they have not been able to enjoy, by reason of
 1598. the Troubles, shall remain discharg'd, as We do
 Pope Cle- hereby discharge them of what they have not
 ment VIII receiv'd of the said Farms, or what they have
 paid without Fraud, any where out of Our
 Exchequer: All Obligations enter'd into by
 them upon this Account, notwithstanding.

LXXII. All Places, Cities, and Provinces
 of Our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lord-
 ships under Our Obedience, shall have and
 enjoy the same Privileges, Immunities, Liber-
 ties, Franchises, Fairs, Markets, Jurisdictions,
 and Seats of Justice, as they did before the
 Troubles, begun in the Month of *March* 1585.
 And others preceding, all Letters-Patents
 thereunto contrary, and the Translation of some
 of the said Seats notwithstanding; provided
 it was only upon the Account of the Trou-
 bles: which Seats shall be re-establish'd in the
 Cities and Places where they were before.

LXXIII. In Case there be yet any Pri-
 soners detain'd by Authority of Justice, or
 otherwise, even in the Gallies, by reason of
 the Troubles; or of the said Religion, they
 shall be set at liberty.

LXXIV. Those of the said Religion shall
 not hereafter be surcharg'd or oppress'd with
 any ordinary or extraordinary Imposition, more
 than the Catholicks, and according to the
 Proportion of their Estates and Substance; and
 the Parties that think themselves over-bur-
 then'd, may have Recourse to, and shall be re-
 dress'd by the Judges appointed for that Sub-
 ject: And all Our Subjects, whether Catho-
 licks, or of the said Pretended Reformed Re-
 ligion, shall be equally discharg'd of all Char-
 ges that have been impos'd on both Sides
 during the Troubles, on those that were of a
 contrary

contrary Party, and not consenting; as also of Henry IV. Debts, created and not paid, Expences made without their Approbation; but yet there shall be no Returns made of the Fruits that shall have been employ'd for the Payment of the said Charges.

1598.
Pope Clement VIII

LXXV. Neither do We allow that those of the said Religion and others, who have been engag'd in their Party; nor the Catholics, who dwell in the Cities, Towns, and Places, held and detain'd by them, and who have contributed to them, should be prosecuted for the Payment of Taxes, Aids, Grants, Increase, Assessments, Wastes, and Reparations, and other Impositions and Subsidies due, and impos'd during the Troubles that happen'd before, and since Our coming to the Crown; either by Edicts, Orders from the late Kings Our Predecessors, or by Advice and Deliberation of the Governors and Estates of the Provinces, Courts of Parliament, and others, whereof We have discharg'd, and do discharge them; forbidding Our Treasurers-General of France, and of Our Exchequers, Receivers General and Particular, their Clerks, Inter-meddlers, and other Intendants and Commissaries of our Exchequer, to prosecute, molest, or trouble them for the same directly or indirectly, in any Way whatever.

LXXVI. All Commanders, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties, and all others, who have aided and assisted them; their Widows, Heirs, and Successors, shall be acquitted and discharg'd of all Sums, that have been taken and paid by them, or their Orders, as well belonging to the Crown, to whatever Sums they may be oblig'd; as out of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties,

employ'd for the raising or the said
such as have given or furnish'd them
Order, shall be any ways prosecuted ei
the Time being, or to come; and be
and their Commissioners, or Clerks, shal
acquitted and discharg'd for all the M
ment and Administration of the said
bringing in for a full Discharge, with
Months after the Publication of the
Edict, made in Our Court of Parlian
Paris, Acquittances duely expedited
Chiefs of the said Religion, or from the
were employ'd by them for the Au
clearing of Accounts, or from the Con
ties of Cities, which had Authority an
mand during the said Troubles. Tho
in like manner remain acquitted and di
of all Acts of Hostility, Levies, and
of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of
done by Order of the said Chiefs; Cast
Taking of Artillery and Munitions,
of Powder and Salt-peter; the Taking
tifying, Dismantling, and Demolishing
ties, Castles, Towns, and Villages, Ent

blish'd among them, of Voyages and Intelli-
 gences, Negotiations, Treaties, and Contracts
 made with all foreign Princes, and Commonal-
 ties, and the Introduction of the said Foreigners
 into the Cities, and other Places of our King-
 dom, and generally of all that has been done,
 or negotiated during the said Troubles, since
 the Death of the late King *Henry II.* our most
 honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, by those
 of the said Religion, and others who have
 been engaged in their Party, tho' it be not par-
 ticularly specify'd nor express'd.

LXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall
 also be discharg'd for all General and Provin-
 cial Assemblies, made and held by them both
 at *Nantz* and elsewhere since, until this present
 Time; likewise for the Councils by them esta-
 blish'd and ordain'd in the Provinces, Delib-
 erations, Ordinances, and Regulations made by
 the said Assemblies, and Councils, Establish-
 ment and Augmentation of Garisons, Assem-
 bling of Soldiers, Raising and Taking of Mo-
 ney either from the Receivers-General, or from
 particular Persons, Collectors of Parishes, or
 others, in any kind whatever; Seizing of Salt,
 Continuation or new Erection of Impositions,
 and Tolls, and Receipts of the same, even at
Royan, and upon the Rivers *Charante*, *Garonne*,
Rhone, *Dordogne*, equipping of Ships and Sea-
 Fights, and all Accidents and Excesses, occa-
 sion'd by obliging People to pay the said Im-
 positions, Tolls, and other Moneys, Forti-
 fications of Cities, Castles, and Places, Im-
 positions of Money, and Average, Receipts of
 the said Money, turning out of our Receivers
 and Farmers, and other Officers, establishing of
 others in their room, and for all Unions, Dis-
 patches, and Negotiations, made either within

or

Henry IV.
 1598.
 Pope Cle-
 ment VIII

the future, altho' the Particulars are
fied here. And upon the Whole,
Silence shall be impos'd to our Attorn
ral and their Substitutes, and to al
could have any Pretence to it in any
manner whatever; all Sentences, Ju
Informations, and Proceedings to the
notwithstanding.

LXXVIII. Moreover, we appro
firm, and authorize the Accounts t
been heard, allow'd, and examin'd by
puties of the said Assembly. And o
same, together with the Acquittances
pers that have been return'd by the
tants, to be carried into our Chamber
counts at *Paris*, within three Months
Publication of the present Edict, and
into the Hands of our Attorney-Gener
deliver'd to the Keeper of the Books
gisters of our Chamber, there to be v
often as shall be necessary; neither t
said Accounts be examin'd a-new, or
countants be obliged to appear, or to
any Thing. unless in the Case of Omi

BOOK VII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 237

vinces where they are establish'd, to take any Cognizance thereof in any kind whatever.

LXXIX. As for the Accounts that have not been deliver'd yet, they shall be heard, pass'd and examin'd by Commissioners appointed by us, who shall without Difficulty pass, and allow all the Accounts paid by the said Accountants, by virtue of the Ordinances of the said Assembly, or others, who were in Power.

LXXX. All Collectors, Receivers, Farmers, and others, shall be well and duly discharg'd for all the Sums by them paid to the Commissioners of the said Assembly, whatever nature they were of, until the last Day of this Month. We order the Whole to be pass'd and allow'd in the Accounts that shall be given thereof, in our Chambers of Accounts, meerly by virtue of the Acquittances they shall bring along with them; and in case any should be expedited or deliver'd hereafter, they shall be void; and those who shall accept or deliver them, shall be fin'd as Falsificators. And in case any of the Accounts already deliver'd should be blotted, or raz'd, and excepted against, we do in that respect remove the said Scruples, and allow the said Accounts to be good, by virtue of these Presents, and there shall be no need for all that is above-said of any particular Letters, nor any Thing else, for all which the Extract of the present Article will suffice.

LXXXI. The Governors, Captains, Consuls, and other Persons imploy'd for the Collection of the Money to pay the Garisons of the Places held by those of the said Religion, to whom our Receivers and Collectors of Parishes shall have furnish'd by way of Loan upon their Notes and Bonds, either by Force, or to obey the Commands made to them by the
Treasurers-

Henry IV.
1598.

Pope Cle-
ment VIII

Henry IV. ^{1598.} Treasurers-General, such Sums of Money as were necessary to pay off the said Garisons, to the Value of what was specify'd in the Settlement we caus'd to be made in the beginning of the Year 1596; and the Additions that have been since by us granted, are hereby acquitted and discharg'd of what has been paid for the abovesaid Use, altho' it is not expressly mention'd in the said Notes and Bonds, the which shall be restor'd to them as annihilated. And in order thereunto, the Treasurers-General in every Generality, shall order the particular Receivers of our Taxes to give the said Collectors their Acquittances, and the Receivers-General their Acquittances to the said particular Receivers: For the Discharge of which Receivers-General, the Sums they shall have accounted for, as abovesaid, shall be endors'd upon the Orders given to the Treasurer of the Exchequer, sign'd by the Treasurers-General of the Extraordinary of our Wars, for the Payment of the said Garisons. And in Case the said Orders do not amount to as much as is specify'd by our said Settlement of the Year 1596, and the Additions, it is our Pleasure, in order to supply the same, that new Orders shall be given, for as much as may be wanting for the Discharge of our Accomptants, and the Restitution 'of the said Promises and Bonds, to the end that nothing may be requir'd hereafter, from those that have given them; and that all necessary Letters of Inforcement, and Ratification for the Discharge of the said Accomptants, be issued out by virtue of this present Article.

LXXXII. And therefore, those of the said Religion shall give over and desist, from this very time,

me, all Practices, Negotiations and Intelligences, both at home and abroad; and the said Assemblies and Councils establish'd in the Provinces shall strait break up: And all Leagues and Associations made or to be made, under any Pretence whatever, to the prejudice of our present Edict, shall be cancell'd and annul'd, as we do hereby cancel and annul them; forbidding all our Subjects most expressly henceforward to make any Assessments and Raisings of Money, without our Leave, Fortifications, Liftings of Men, Congregations and Assemblies, besides those that are allow'd them by the present Edicts, and without Arms; which we do prohibit and forbid them, on pain of rigorous Punishments, and as Contemnners and Infractors of our Commands and Ordinances.

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

LXXXIII. All Prizes taken at Sea, during the Troubles, by virtue of the Permissions given, and all such as have been taken by Land, upon those of the contrary Party, which have been judg'd by the Judges and Commissioners of the Admiralty, or by the Chiefs of those of the said Religion, or their Council, shall lie dormant under the Benefit of our present Edicts, and no manner of Prosecution shall be made for the same; neither shall the Captains, and others who have taken the said Prizes, and the said Judges, Officers, their Widows and Heirs be any wise prosecuted or molested upon that account; notwithstanding all Decrees of our Privy-Council, and Parliaments, and all Letters of Marque, and Seizures depending and engag'd, for all which we do release and discharge them.

LXXXIV. Neither shall those of the said Religion be call'd to an account for their having heretofore, and even since the Troubles, oppos'd

Henry IV. pos'd and hindered the Execution of the De-
 1598. crees and Judgments given for the Re-estab-
 Pope Cle- blishment of the Catholick, Apostolick and Ro-
 ment VIII man Religion, in divers Places of this Kingdom.

LXXXV. As for what has been taken or done during the Troubles, otherwise than by way of Hostility, or by Hostility contrary to the Publick or particular Regulations of the Chiefs, or of the Commonalties of the Provinces who were impower'd, they shall be prosecuted according to Law.

LXXXVI. Nevertheless, whereas, if what has been done against the Regulations on both Sides were indifferently excepted from the General Pardon granted by this our present Edit, and liable to be prosecuted, there are few Men in the Armies, who might not be put to trouble, which might occasion a Renovation of Troubles; it is our Will and Pleasure, that none but execrable Crimes should be excepted out of the said General Pardon, *viz.* Ravishments, Incendiaries, Murders and Robberies committed with a Design and Premeditation, not in the way of Hostility, but out of private Ends and Revenge, against the Laws of Arms; Infraction of Passports and Safeguards, together with Murders and Plunderings without Orders, in relation to those of the said Religion, and others who have followed the Party of the Chiefs that had Authority over them, grounded upon particular Occasions that may have mov'd them to command or order it.

LXXXVII. We also order, That the Crimes and Offences against Persons of the same Party shall be punish'd, unless in Acts commanded by the Chiefs of either Side, according to the Necessity, Law and Orders of War. And as for the Raisings and Exactions of Money, Bearing

Bearing of Arms, and other Exploits of War ^{Henry IV.}
committed by private Authority, and without ^{1598.}
Command, they shall be prosecuted according ^{Pope Cle-}
to Law. ^{ment VIII}

LXXXVIII. The Ruins and Demolishments that have been made in Cities and Towns during the Troubles, may be rebuilt and repair'd with our Leave, by the Inhabitants at their proper Cost and Charges, and the Letters-Patent allow'd heretofore to that end, shall remain in force.

LXXXIX. It is our Will and Pleasure, and positive Command, That all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what Quality soever, of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, shall re-enter, and be effectually restor'd to the Enjoyment of all and every their Estates, Titles, Names, Reasons, and Actions, notwithstanding the Judgments given against them during the Troubles, and by reason thereof; which Decrees, Seizures, Judgments, and all that followed thereupon, we have declar'd to that end, and do declare null, and of no Effect and Value.

XC. The Acquisitions which those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others, who have been ingag'd in their Party, have made by other Authority than that of the late Kings, our Predecessors, about the Immoveables belonging to the Church, shall be void and of no Effect; and therefore we order, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that the Ecclesiasticks shall be restor'd immediately, and without Delay, and shall be preserv'd in the Possession, and real and actual Enjoyments of the Estates thus alienated, and without being oblig'd to return the Price of the said Sales; the said Contracts of

Henry IV. Sale notwithstanding, the which therefore we
 1598. have revok'd, and do revoke; nevertheless,
 Pope Cle- allowing the Purchasers their Recourse at Law
 ment VIII against the Chiefs, by whose Authority the said
 Estates should have been sold. However, for
 the Reimbursement of the Sums by them really
 and without Fraud disburs'd, we will grant our
 Letters-Patent to those of the said Religion, to
 impose and equal upon themselves the Sums to
 which the said Sales will amount; and the said
 Purchasers shall have no Actions against them
 for Damages and Interests for want of Enjoy-
 ment, but shall rest satisfied with the Restitution
 of the Money by them disburs'd for the said
 Acquisitions; including upon the said Price the
 Fruits by them receiv'd, in case the said Sales
 are found to be made at a low unjust Price.

XCI. And to the end that our Justicers, Of-
 ficers, and other Subjects may be clearly and
 with Certainty acquainted with our Intentions;
 and to remove all Ambiguities and Doubts that
 might arise upon the account of the precedent
 Edicts, by reason of the Diversity thereof; we
 have and do declare all other preceding Edicts,
 secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifi-
 cations, Ratifications, Interpretations, Decrees
 and Registers, as well secret, as other Delibe-
 rations heretofore by us, or by the Kings our
 Predecessors made in our Courts of Parliament,
 or elsewhere, relating to the Case of the said
 Religion, and the Troubles happen'd in our said
 Kingdom, to be null and of no effect; to all
 which, and the Derogatories therein contain'd,
 we have by this our Edict derogated and do
 derogate from this Time forward, as well as for
 that Time, do cancel, revoke and annul them:
 Declaring expressly, that we will have this our
 Edict to be firm and inviolable, kept and ob-
 serv'd

serv'd as well by our said Justicers, Officers, ^{Henry IV.}
as by other Subjects, without any Regard to ^{1598.}
any thing that might be contrary, or derogating ^{Pope Cle-}
to it. ^{ment VIII}

XCII. And for the better Assurance of the Maintenance and Observance we desire to have thereof, we will and ordain, and it is our Pleasure, that all the Governors and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, Bayliffs, Seneschals, and other Judges in ordinary of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately after the Receipts of this our Edict, shall swear to have it kept and observ'd, every one in their several Precincts; as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Consuls, and Jurats of Cities, annual and perpetual: Enjoining also our said Bayliffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants and other Judges, to make the principal Inhabitants of the said Cities of both Religions swear to observe and maintain the same, immediately after the Publication thereof. Putting all those of the Cities under our Protection, and under the Guard of one another; charging them respectively, and by publick Acts, to answer at the Civil Law, for the Transgression that shall be made of this our said Edicts in the said Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to represent and deliver the said Infractors into the hands of Justice.

We command our Trusty and Well-Beloved, the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, and Courts of Aids, immediately upon Receipt of the present Edict, to put a stop to all their Proceedings, on pain of Nullity of all the Acts they should pass, and to take the Oath above-mention'd, and this our Edict to publish and register in our said Courts, according to the Form and Tenor there-

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Henry IV. of, exactly as it is, without any Modification,
 1598. Restrictions, secret Registers, or Declarations,
 Pope Cle- and without expecting any farther Order or
 ment VIII Command from us; and our Attorneys-General
 to require and prosecute the said immediate
 Publication thereof.

We also order our said Persons holding our
 said Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our
 Accounts, and Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals,
 Provosts, and others our Justicers and Officers to whom it may belong, and to their Lieutenants, to cause this our present Edict and Ordinance to be read, publish'd and register'd in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the same to maintain, keep and observe in every Particular; and to make all such whom it may concern, enjoy and use the Benefit thereof; putting a stop to all Troubles and Hinderances thereunto contrary. For such is our Pleasure. For Witness whereof we have sign'd these Presents with our own Hand; and to the same, in order to its being firm and lasting for ever, We have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Given at *Nantes*, in the Month of *April*, in the Year of our Lord 1598, and of our Régn the Ninth.

Sign'd,

H E N R Y.

And underneath, By the King, being in his Council,

F O R G E T.

And on the Side.

V I S A.

And seal'd with the Great-Seal of Green-Wax, upon Knots of red and green Silk. Read, publish'd and register'd, heard, with the approbation

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 245
 probation of the King's Attorney-General at ^{Henry IV.}
Paris, in Parliament, on the 25th of *February*, ^{1598.}
 1599. *Pope Cle-*
ment VIII

Sign'd,

V O Y S I N.

Read, publish'd and register'd in the Cham-
 ber of Accounts, heard, and approv'd by the
 King's Attorney-General, on the last Day of
March, 1599.

Sign'd,

D E L A F O N T A I N E.

Read, publish'd and registred, heard and
 approv'd by the King's Attorney-General at
Paris, in the Court of Aids, the 30th of
April, 1599.

Sign'd.

B E R N A R D.

*Particular Articles, extracted from the General
 ones, that have been granted by the King to
 those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, the
 which his Majesty would not have compre-
 hended into the said General Articles, nor in
 the Ediēt that hath been made and drawn up-
 on the same given at Nantes, in the Month
 of April last; and yet nevertheless, his Majesty
 has granted that they shall be fully accomplish'd
 and observ'd, in the same Manner as the Con-
 tents of the said Ediēt. To which End they
 shall be Registered in his Courts of Parliament
 and elsewhere, where it shall be necessary; and
 all necessary Declarations and Letters-Patent
 to that End, shall be forthwith expedited.*

THE VIth Article of the said Ediēt,
 about Liberty of Conscience, and Leave

R 3

for

Henry IV. for all his Majesty's Subjects to live and inhabit
 1598. in this Kingdom, and Countries under his Obe-
 Pope Cle- dience, shall remain in force, and shall be ob-
 ment VIII serv'd according to the Form and Tenor there-
 of: Even for Ministers and Teachers, and all
 others that are, or shall turn of the said Re-
 ligion, whether actual Inhabitants or others,
 behaving themselves in all other Things con-
 formably to what is specify'd by the said Edict.

II. Those of the said Religion shall not be
 oblig'd to contribute towards the Reparations,
 and building of Churches, Chapels, Parsonages,
 nor towards the buying of sacerdotal Orna-
 ments, Lights, Casting of Bells, Holy Bread,
 Rights of Fraternity, and other like things, un-
 less oblig'd thereunto by Foundations, Gifts, or
 other Dispositions made by them or their Pre-
 decessors.

III. Neither shall they be oblig'd to hang
 and adorn the Front of their Houses on Festi-
 val-Days, on which it is order'd; but only to
 suffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the Au-
 thority of the Magistrates, without Contribu-
 ting any thing towards it.

IV. Neither shall those of the said Religion
 be oblig'd to receive Exhortations, being sick,
 or near Death, either by Condemnation of Jus-
 tice, or otherwise, from any but those of the
 said Religion; and their Ministers shall be al-
 low'd to visit and comfort them without any
 Disturbance: And, as for such as shall be con-
 demn'd by Justice, it shall also be lawful for the
 said Ministers to visit and prepare them for
 Death, without making publick Prayers, un-
 less in such Places as are allow'd by the said
 Edict for the said Publick Exercise.

V. It shall be lawful for those of the said
 Religion, to perform the Publick Exercise there-
 of

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 247

of at *Pimpoul*; and for *Diepe*, in the Suburb *Henry IV.*
du Paulet and the said Places of *Pimpoul* and *1598.*
du Paulet, shall be ordain'd for Places of Baili- *Pope Cle-*
wicks. The said Exercise shall be continued at *ment VIII*
Sancerre, as it is at present; the said free and
publick Exercise shall also be re-establiſh'd in
the City of *Montagnac* in *Languedoc*.

VI. In respect to the Article which relates to
Bailiwicks, it has been declar'd and granted, as
followeth; First, For the establishing of the
Exercise of the said Religion, in the two Places
granted in every Bailiwick, Seneschalship, and
Government, those of the said Religion shall
nominate two Cities, in the Suburbs of which
the said Exercise shall be establish'd by the
Commissioners that shall be deputed by his
Majesty for the Execution of the Edict. And
in case the said Commissioners should not ap-
prove of them, those of the said Religion shall
nominate two or three Towns or Villages in the
Neighbourhood of the said Cities, for every one
of them, out of which the said Commissioners
shall chuse one. And if through Hostility,
Contagion, or any other lawful Impediment,
it cannot be continued in the said Places, others
shall be allow'd while the said Impediment shall
continue. Secondly, That only two Cities shall
be provided in the Government of *Picardy*, into
the Suburbs of which, those of the said Religi-
on shall be allow'd the Exercise thereof for all
the Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and Govern-
ments depending of the same; and where it
shall not be thought fit to establish it in the
said Cities, they shall be allow'd two convenient
Towns or Villages. Thirdly, By reason of the
great Extent of the Seneschalship of *Provence*,
and Bailiwicks of *Viennois*, his Majesty does
grant a third Place in each of the said Bailiwicks

Henry IV. and Senefchalships, the Choice and Nomination
 1598. of which shall be made as above-said, there to
 Pope Clement VIII. establish the Exercise of the said Religion, be-
 sides the other Places in which it is already
 establish'd.

VII. What has been granted by the said Article for the Exercise of the said Religion in Bailiwicks, shall also serve for the Territories which did belong to the late Queen Mother-in-Law to his Majesty, and for the Bailwick of *Beaujolois*.

VIII. Besides the two Places granted for the Exercise of the said Religion, by the particular Articles of the Year 1577, in the Isles of *Marrennes* and *Oleron*, two more shall be allow'd them, for the Convenience of the said Inhabitants; viz. one for all the Isles of *Marrennes*, and another for the Isle of *Oleron*.

IX. The Letters-Patent granted by his Majesty, for the Exercise of the said Religion in the City of *Mets* shall remain in full Force, and Virtue.

X. It is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, That the 27th Article of his Edict, relating to the Admission of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion into Offices and Dignities, shall be observ'd and maintain'd according to its Form and Tenor, the Edicts and Agreements heretofore made for the Reduction of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities notwithstanding; the which shall not be in force to the prejudice of those of the said Religion, only in what relates to the Exercise thereof. And the said Exercise shall be regulated according as it is specify'd by the following Articles, according to which shall be drawn the Instructions of the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his

his Ediſt, according as it is ordain'd by the ^{Henry IV.} ſame. ^{1598.}

XI. According to the Ediſt made by his ^{Pope Cle-} Majesty for the Reduction of the Duke of ^{ment VIII} *Guiſe*, the Exerciſe of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion ſhall neither be allow'd, nor eſtabliſh'd in the Cities and Suburbs of *Rbeims, Rocroy, St. Diſier, Guiſe, Joinville, Fimes, and Moncornet* in the *Ardennes*.

XII. Neither ſhall it be allow'd in the other Places adjacent to the ſaid Cities, and Places forbidden by the Ediſt of the Year 1577.

XIII. And to remove the Ambiguity that might ariſe upon the word Adjacent, his Ma- jeſty declares, that he means the Places that are within the Circuit of a League of the ſaid Ci- ties, being the Precinct, or Liberties thereof, in which Places the Exerciſe of the ſaid Reli- gion ſhall not be allow'd, unleſs it were per- mitted by the Ediſt of 1577.

XIV. And forasmuch as by the ſame, the ſaid Exerciſe was allow'd generally in the Fiefs poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, without any Exception of the ſaid League's Circuit; his Ma- jeſty declares, That the ſaid Allowance ſhall remain in force even for Fiefs within the ſaid Circuit, poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, as it is ſpecify'd by his Ediſt, given at *Nantes*.

XV. Likewise, according to the Ediſt made for the Reduction of the Marſhal *de la Char- tres*, in each of the Bailiwicks of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, ſhall only be ordain'd one Place of Bailiwick for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, the which however may be continu'd in ſuch Places where the Continuation thereof is allow'd by the ſaid Ediſt of *Nantes*.

XVI.

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Henry IV. XVI. The Concession of Preaching in Fiefs, shall also extend to the said Bailiwicks, in the manner specify'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

XVII. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Marshal of *Bois-Dauphin*, shall also be observ'd ; and the said Exercise shall not be allow'd in the Cities, Suburbs, and Places brought over by him to his Majesty's Service ; and as for the Circuit, or Liberties thereof, the Edict of 1577, shall be observ'd there, even in the Houses of Fiefs, according as it is specify'd by the Edict of *Nantes*.

XVIII. No Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd in the City, Suburbs, and Castle of *Morlais*, according to the Edicts made for the Reduction of the said City, and the Edict of 1577 shall be observ'd for the Precinct thereof, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XIX. In consequence of the Edict for the Reduction of *Quimpercorantin*, no Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd in all the Bishoprick of *Cornouaille*.

XX. Also according to the Edict made for the Reduction of *Beauvais*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the said City of *Beauvais*, nor within three Leagues round about it. Nevertheless, the establishing thereof shall be allow'd in the Remainder of the Extent of the Bailiwick, in the Places allow'd of by the Edict of 1577. Even in Houses of Fiefs, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXI. And whereas the Edict made for the Reduction of the late Admiral *de Villars*, is only provisional, and until the King's farther Pleasure, it is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, the said Edict notwithstanding, that his Edict of *Nantes* shall remain in force for the Cities

and

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and Jurisdictions reduced to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Admiral, as well as for the other Parts of his Kingdom.

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

XXII. By the Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the City or Suburbs of *Tboulouse*, nor within four Leagues about it, nor nearer than the Cities of *Villemur*, *Carmain*, and the Isle of *Fourdan*.

XXIII. Neither shall it be restored into the Cities of *Alel*, *Fiac*, *Auriac*, and *Montesquieu*: Nevertheless, in case any of the said Religion in the said City should be desirous to have a Place for the Exercise thereof, the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his Edict, shall assign them, for every one of the said Cities, a convenient Place and of easy Access, within a League of the said Cities.

XXIV. It shall be lawful to establish the said Exercise, according as it is specify'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*, within the Jurisdiction of the Court of Parliament of *Tboulouse*, excepted always in such Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and other Precincts, of which the principal Seats shall have been restor'd to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Duke of *Joyeuse*, in which the Edict of 1577, shall take place. Nevertheless, his Majesty means that the said Exercise shall be continued in such Places of the said Bailiwicks and Seneschalships, where it was performed at the time of the said Reduction; and that the Concession thereof in Houses of Fiefs, shall remain in force in the said Bailiwicks, and Seneschalships, according as it is specify'd by the said Edict.

XXV. The Edict made for the Reduction of the City of *Dijon* shall be observed, according

Henry IV. ing to which, no other Exercife of Religion
 1598. shall be allowed in the faid City than that of
 Pope Cle- the *Roman* Catholick Apoftolick Church, nor
 ment VIII yet within the Suburbs thereof, nor within four
 Leagues round about it.

XXVI. The Edi&thil made for the Reduction
 of the Duke of *Mayenne*, shall in like manner
 be observed ; according to which the Exercife
 of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall not
 be allowed in the City of *Châlons*, nor within
 two Leagues round about *Soiffons*, during the
 Term of Six Years, to begin from the Month
 of *January* 1596, after which the Edi&thil of
Nantes shall be observed there, as in the other
 Parts of the Kingdom.

XXVII. It shall be lawful for thofe of the
 faid Religion, of what Quality foever, to in-
 habit, and to have free Egreffs and Regreffs
 into the City of *Lyons*, and other Towns and
 Places of the Government of *Lyonnois*; all Pro-
 hibitions made to the contrary by the Syndics,
 and Sheriffs of the faid City of *Lyons*, tho' con-
 firm'd by his Majesty, notwithstanding.

XXVIII. Only one Place of Bailiwick shall
 be allow'd for the Exercife of the faid Religi-
 on in the whole Senefchalship of *Poitiers*, be-
 fides thofe where it is already eſtablifh'd ; and
 as to the Fiefs, the Edi&thil of *Nantes* shall be
 observed. The faid Exercife shall alfo be con-
 tinued in the City of *Chauvigny* : But it shall
 not be reſtored in the Cities of *Agen*, and *Pe-
 rigueux*, altho' it was allowed by the Edi&thil
 of 1577.

XXIX. Only two Places of Bailiwicks shall
 be allow'd for the Exercife of the faid Religion,
 in all the Government of *Picardy* as above faid,
 neither shall the faid two Places be allow'd
 within the Precincts of the Bailiwicks and Go-
 vernments,

vernments, reserved by the Edicts made for the Henry IV. 1598.
 Reduction of *Amiens*, *Peronne* and *Abbeville*.
 Nevertheless, the said Exercise shall be allow'd Pope Clement VIII
 in Houses of Fiefs throughout the whole Government of *Picardy*, according to what is specify'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XXX. The Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the Cities and Suburbs of *Sens*; and only one Place of Bailiwick shall be granted in the whole Precinct of the Bailiwick, but still without prejudice to the Permission granted for Houses of Fiefs, which shall remain in force, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXI. Neither shall the said Exercise be allow'd in the City nor Suburbs of *Nantes*, nor any Place of Bailiwicks be granted for the said Exercise within three Leagues round about the said City: Nevertheless it shall be allowed in Houses of Fiefs, according to the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXII. It is his said Majesty's Will and Pleasure, that his said Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed from this very time, in what relates to the Exercise of the said Religion, in such Places where by the Edicts and Agreements made for the Reduction of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities, it was prohibited only provisionally, and until it was otherwise ordained. And as for such where the said Prohibition is limited to a certain time, that time being expired, it shall be no longer in force.

XXXIII. A Place shall be allowed to those of the said Religion for the City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, within five Leagues at farthest from the said City, in which they shall be allowed the Exercise of the said Religion.

XXXIV.

Henry IV. XXXIV. In all such Places where the Exercise of the said Religion shall be performed publicly, it shall be lawful to assemble the People, even by the Sound of Bells, and to perform all Acts and Functions belonging either to the Exercise of the said Religion, or to the Regulation of their Discipline, as to hold Consistories or Vestries, Colloquies, and Provincial and National Synods by his Majesty's Leave.

1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

XXXV. The Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the said Religion, shall not be obliged to appear as Witnesses, and to answer in Justice, for things that shall have been revealed in their Consistories, in the Case of Censures, unless it were about Matters relating to the King's Person, or towards the Preservation of the State.

XXXVI. Such of the said Religion as live in the Country, shall be allowed to assist at the Exercise thereof in the Cities and Suburbs, and other Places where it shall be publicly establish'd.

XXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall not be allowed to keep publick Schools, unless in such Towns and Places where the publick Exercise thereof is allowed: And the Patents that have been granted them heretofore for the erecting and maintaining of Colleges, shall be verifys'd if necessary, and shall remain in full force and vigor.

XXXVIII. It shall be lawful for Fathers professing the said Religion, to provide such Teachers for their Children as they shall think fit, and to substitute one; or several by Will, or other Declaration pass'd before a Notary, or written or sign'd by their own Hands, the Laws received in this Kingdom, Ordinances and

and Customs of Places remaining in full force Henry IV. 1598.
and virtue, as to the Gifts and Provisions of
Tutors and Guardians. Pope Clement VIII

XXXIX. As for the Marriage of Priests, and other Religious Persons, that have been heretofore contracted, his Majesty for divers good Considerations, will not allow their being prosecuted or molested for the same; upon which Subject, Silence shall be imposed to his Attorneys-General and other Officers. Nevertheless his Majesty declares, that the Children proceeding from the said Marriages shall only succeed to the Personal Estates, and Acquisitions made by their Fathers and Mothers, and in default of the said Children, the nearest Relations at Law: And the Wills, Gifts, and other Dispositions made, or to be made, by Persons of the said Quality, of the said Personal Estates and Acquisitions by them made, are hereby declared good and lawful. Nevertheless, his said Majesty will not allow that the said Persons having been admitted into Religious Orders, should be capable of any direct or collateral Succession; but only shall be allowed to take such Estates as shall be left them by Will, or Gift, or other Dispositions, still excepting those of the said direct and collateral Successions; and as to those who shall have taken Religious Orders before the Age mentioned by the Ordinances of *Orleans* or *Blois*, shall be followed and observed, in what relates to the said Succession, the Tenor of the said Ordinances, every one for the time they have been in force.

XL. Neither will his said Majesty allow those of the said Religion, who have heretofore, or shall hereafter contract Marriages in the third or fourth Degree, to be prosecuted or molested for the same; neither shall the Validity

Henry IV. dity of the said Marriages be questioned, nor
 1598. the Succession taken from, or disputed against
 Pope Cle- the Children born, or to be born of the same:
 ment VIII

And as to the Marriages that might already be contracted in the second Degree, or from the second to the third, between those of the said Religion, the said Persons applying themselves to his said Majesty, such Letters-Patent as shall be necessary shall be granted them, to the end that they may neither be prosecuted nor molested for the same, nor the Succession disputed to their Children.

XL I. The Validity and Lawfulness of the said Marriages thus made and contracted, shall be judg'd, the Defendant being of the said Religion, before the Judge Royal: But in case of his being Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholic, the Cognizance thereof shall belong to the Official and Ecclesiastical Judge; and both Parties being of the said Religion, the Case shall be try'd before the Judges Royal: His Majesty willing that the said Marriages, and the Differences arising from the same, should be judg'd respectively by the Judges Ecclesiastical and Royal, and by the Chambers establish'd by his Edicts.

XL II. The Gifts and Legacies made, or to be made, whether by Will, in case of Death, or among the Living, for the Maintenance of Ministers, Doctors, Scholars, and Poor of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and upon other pious Accounts, shall be of full force and Power, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithstanding; but yet without Prejudice to his Majesty's Rights, and others, in case the said Legacies and Gifts should fall into Dead hands: And all necessary Actions and Prosecutions for the Recovery of the said Legacies,

ies, pious Gifts, and other Rights of all Henry IV.
 is, shall be allow'd to be made by an Attor- 1598.
 in the Name of the Body and Corporation Pope Cle-
 of the said Religion who shall be con- ment VIII
 d ; and in case it happens that any of the
 Gifts and Legacies have been heretofore
 s'd of, otherwise than is specify'd by the
 Article, no other Restitution shall be de-
 ded, but what shall be found in being.

LIII. His said Majesty permits those of
 said Religion to assemble before the Judge
 al, and by his Authority to assess and raise
 ing themselves such Sums as shall be judg'd
 lary to be imploy'd towards the Charges
 their Synods, and for the Maintenance of
 who are employ'd for the Exercise of
 said Religion, of which the true Estimate
 be given to the said Judge Royal, to be
 by him : The Copy of which shall be
 every six Months by the said Judges Roy-
 his Majesty, or to his Chancellor, and the
 taxes and Impositions shall be liable to
 ution, all Oppositions or Appeals to the
 ary notwithstanding.

LIV. The Ministers of the said Religion
 be exempted from Watching, and from
 tering of Soldiers ; assessing and collecting
 illes, or Subsidies ; as also from Ward-
 and Guardianships, and Commissions for
 eeping of Estates seiz'd by Authority of
 e.

LV. Those of the said Religion shall be
 r prosecuted nor disturb'd for the Burials
 fore made by them in the Church-yards
 e said Catholicks, in any Place or City
 ver, and his Majesty shall order his Offi-
 o take care of the same. As to the City
 ris, over and above the two Church-
 ol. IV. S yards,

Henry IV. yards, those of the same Religion possess there already, viz. that of *Trinity*, and that of *St. Germain's*, a third convenient Place shall be allow'd them for the said Burials in the Suburbs of *St. Honore*, or *St. Denis*.

1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

XLVI. The Catholick Presidents and Counsellors that shall serve in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, shall be chosen by his Majesty upon the Roll of the Officers of the Parliament.

XLVII. The Counsellors of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall serve in the said Chamber, shall assist, if they think fit, at such Processes as shall be decided by Commissioners, and shall have a deliberate Vote in the same, but shall have no Share of the consign'd Money, unless they ought to assist at them by the Order and Prerogative of their Reception.

XLVIII. The senior President of the Mixt Chambers shall preside at the Audience, and in his Absence the second; and the Distribution of Suits shall be made by the two Presidents jointly or alternately, monthly, or weekly.

XLIX. A Vacation of Offices happening, in Possession of, or to be possess'd by those of the said Religion in the said Chambers of the Edict, they shall be given to capable Persons, having Attestations from the Synod, or Colloquy, to which they do belong, of their being of the said Religion and Persons of Integrity.

L. The Pardon granted to those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, by the 74th Article of the said Edict, shall stand good for the taking of the Money belonging to the Crown, either by breaking of Coffers, or otherwise, even in respect to that which was rais'd upon the

the River *Charante*, tho' assign'd to particular Persons


Henry IV.

1598.

Pope Clement VIII

LI. The 49th. of the secret Articles, made in the Year 1577, concerning the City and Archbishoprick of *Avignon*; and County thereof, together with the Treaty made at *Nimes*, shall be observ'd according to their Form and Tenor; and no Letters of Mart shall be granted by virtue of the said Articles and Treaty, unless by Letters-Patent from the King, under the Great-Seal. Nevertheless, such as shall be desirous to obtain the same, shall be allow'd by virtue of this present Article, without any other Commission, to make their Application to the Judges Royal, who shall examine the Transgressions, Denial of Justice, and Iniquity of the Judgments, propos'd by those who shall be desirous to obtain the said Letters, and shall send the same, together with their Opinions, seal'd up close, to his Majesty, in order to his ordering the said Matter according to reason.

LII. His Majesty grants and wills, that Mr. *Nicholas Grimoult* shall be re-establish'd and maintain'd in the Title and Possession of the Offices of Ancient Lieutenant-General Civil, and Lieutenant-General Criminal, in the Bailiwick of *Alençon*; notwithstanding the Resignation [by him made to *John Marguerit*, his Reception, and the Patent obtain'd by *William Bernard*, of the Office of Lieutenant-General Civil and Criminal in the Tribunal of *Exmes*: The Decrees given against the said *Marguerit*, resigned during the Troubles in the Privy-Council, in the Years 1586, 87, and 88, by which *Nicholas Barbier* is settled in the Rights and Prerogatives of Ancient Lieutenant-General in the said Bailiwick, and the said *Bernard*, in the Office of Lieutenant at *Exmes*, the which

Henry IV. his Majesty has nullify'd, and all others here-
 1598. unto contrary. Moreover, his Majesty, for
 Pope Cle- certain good Considerations, has granted and
 ment VIII  ordained, that the said *Grimoult* shall, within
 the Space of three Months, reimburse the said
Barbier the Money by him furnish'd or dis-
 burs'd for the said Office of Lieutenant-General
 Civil and Criminal, in the Vice-County of
Alençon, and fifty Crowns for the Charges:
 And the said Reimbursement being made, or the
 said *Barbier* refusing, or delaying to receive it;
 his Majesty forbids the said *Barbier*, as also the
 said *Bernard*, after the Signification of this pre-
 sent Article, any more to exercise the said Of-
 fices, on pain of the Crime of Falsity, and sends
 the said *Grimoult* to the Injoyment of the said
 Offices and Rights thereunto belonging: And
 in so doing, the Processes which were depend-
 ing between the said *Grimoult*, *Barbier*, and
Bernard, in his Majesty's Privy-Council, shall
 remain determin'd, and lie dormant, his said
 Majesty forbidding the Parliaments, and all
 others to take Cognizance thereof, and the said
 Parties to make any Prosecutions for the same.
 Moreover, his Majesty has taken upon himself
 to reimburse the said *Bernard*, the Sum of a
 thousand Crowns, paid for the said Office, and
 sixty Crowns for the Mark of Gold, and Char-
 ges; having to that end, already order'd a good
 and sufficient Assignation, the Recovery of
 which shall be made at the Suit and Charge of
 the said *Grimoult*.

LIII. His said Majesty shall write to his
 Ambassadors to obtain for all his Subjects, even
 for those of the said Pretended Reformed Re-
 ligion, that they may not be disturb'd as to
 their Consciences, nor be subject to the Inqui-
 sition, going or coming, sojourning and trading
 through-

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throughout all foreign Countries, in Alliance ^{Henry IV.} and Confederacy with this Crown, provided ^{1598.} they do not offend the Civil Government of ^{Pope Clement VIII} the Countries where they shall be.

LIV. His Majesty forbids any Prosecution for the gathering and receiving of the Impositions that have been levy'd at *Royan*, by virtue of the Contract made with the *Sieur de Candelay*, and others, made in Continuation of the same; making the said Contract valid, and approving it for the time it has been in force, in the whole Extent of it, until the 8th of *May*, next ensuing.

LV. The Excesses committed against *Armand Courtines*, in the City of *Millaut*, in the Year 1587, and *John Reines*, and *Peter Seig-
saret*; together with the Proceedings made between them by the Consuls of the *said Millaut*, shall remain abolish'd, and shall lie dormant by the Benefit of the Edict; and it shall not be lawful for their Widows and Heirs, nor his Majesty's Attorneys-General, their Substitutes, or other Persons whatever, to mention the same, or to make any Inquiry or Prosecution about it: Notwithstanding, and without regard to the Decree given in the Chamber of *Castres*, on the 10th of *March* last, the which shall remain null, and without effect, together with all Proceedings and Informations made on either side.

LVI. All Prosecutions, Proceedings, Sentences, Judgments and Decrees, given either against the late *Sieur de la Noüe*, or against his Son *Odet de la Noüe*, since their Detention and Imprisonment in *Flanders*, which happen'd in the Month of *May* 1580, and *November* 1584, and during their continual Occupation in the Wars and Service of his Majesty, shall remain annihilated and nullify'd, and whatever has fol-

Done by the King, being in his Co
Nantes, the 2d of *May* 1598.

Sign'd

H E

And lower,

F O R

And seal'd with the Great-Seal of
Wax.

H*ENRY*, by the Grace of God, I
France and *Navarre*, To our Tr
Well-beloved the Persons holding our
Parliament at *Paris*, Greeting. In the
of *April* last past, we caused our Le
Edict to be expedited, for the Estab
of a good Order and Repose among
tholick Subjects, and those of the sa
tended Reformed Religion: And v
moreover granted to those of the said
certain secret and particular Articles, w
will have to be of equal force and pow
to be observ'd and accomplish'd in t
manner as our said Edict. To this e
will, and most exprelly order and c
you by these Presents. To cause the s

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 263

Edict; ceasing, and causing all Troubles and Henry IV. Impediments thereunto contrary to cease. For ^{1598.} such is our Pleasure. Pope Clement VIII

Given at *Nantes*, the 2d of *May*, in the Year of our Lord 1598, and of our Reign the Ninth.

Sign'd by the King.

FORGET.

And seal'd upon single Labels of yellow Wax.

Brief granted by Henry the Great, to his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion on the 30th of April, 1598.

THIS third of *April*, 1598, the King being at *Nantes*, and being willing to gratify his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and to help them to supply many great Expenses they are oblig'd to undergo, has ordain'd, that for the future, to begin from the first Day of this present Month, shall be put into the hands of Mr *De Vierse*, commission'd by his Majesty to that end, by the Treasurers of his Exchequer, every one in his Year, Rescriptions to the Sum of 45,000 Crowns to be employ'd in certain secret Affairs relating to them, which his Majesty does neither think fit to specify, or declare: The which Sum of 45,000 Crowns, shall be assign'd upon the general Receipts as followeth; viz. *Paris* 5000 Crowns; *Rouen* 6000 Crowns; *Caen* 3000 Crowns; *Orleans* 4000 Crowns; *Tours* 4000 Crowns; *Poitiers* 8000 Crowns; *Limoges* 6000 Crowns; *Bordeaux* 8000 Crowns; the whole together amounting to the afore said Sum of 45,000 Crowns; payable at the four Quarters of the said Year, out of the first and clearest Money of the said General Receipts; out of which nothing shall be retrench'd, or put off,

Henry IV. upon any account whatever. For which Sum
 1598. of 45,000 Crowns, he shall cause Acquittances
 Pope Cle- to be deliver'd into the hands of the Treasurer
 ment VIII of his Exchequer, for his Discharge, in giving
 the said Rescriptions intire for the said Sum of
 45,000 Crowns, upon the said Generalities, at
 the Beginning of every Year. And where, for
 the Convenience of the abovesad, it shall be re-
 quir'd to cause part of the said Assignations to
 be paid in particular Receipts establish'd; the
 Treasurers-General of *France*, and Receivers-
 General of the said Generalities shall be order'd
 to do it in Deduction of the said Rescriptions of
 the said Treasurers of the Exchequer; the
 which shall be afterwards deliver'd by the said
Sieur de Vierse, to such as shall be nominated
 by those of the said Religion at the Beginning
 of the Year for the receipt and laying out of
 the Money to be receiv'd by virtue thereof;
 of which they shall be oblig'd to bring a par-
 ticular Account to the said *Sieur de Vierse* at
 the End of the Year, with the Acquittance
 of the Parties, to inform his Majesty with the
 laying out of the said Money: For which, nei-
 ther the said *Sieur de Vierse*, nor those that
 shall be employ'd by those of the said Religion,
 shall be oblig'd to give any Account in any of
 the Chambers; For all which, and whatever
 may depend thereon, his Majesty has com-
 manded all necessary Letters-Patent to be ex-
 pedited by virtue of this present Brief, sign'd
 by his own Hand, and countersign'd by us,
 Counsellor in his Council of State, and Secre-
 tary of his Commands.

Sign'd,

HENRY.

And lower,

DE NEUFVILLE,

This

THIS last Day of *April* 1598, the King be-
 ing at *Nantes*, and being very desirous to
 afford all manner of Satisfaction to his Subjects
 of the Pretended Reformed Religion, upon the
 Petitions and Requests he has received from
 them, about such things as they think necessary
 for the Liberty of their Consciences, and for the
 Security of their Persons, Fortunes and Estates;
 And his Majesty being convinced of their Fi-
 delity, and sincere Affection for his Service; as
 also for divers other important Considerations
 relating to the Quiet and Welfare of this State,
 him thereunto moving; his said Majesty, be-
 sides what is contain'd in the Edict, which he
 has lately made, and is to be publish'd for the
 Regulation of what relates to them, has granted
 and promised them, that all the Places, Towns
 and Castles they held until the End of *August*
 last past, in which Garisons are to be kept, by
 the Settlement that shall be made about it, and
 sign'd by his Majesty, shall remain in their
 keeping under the Authority and Obedience
 of his said Majesty for the Term of eight
 Years, to begin from the Day of the Publi-
 cation of the said Edict. And as for the
 others which they hold, in which there are to
 be no Garisons, there shall be no Alteration
 or Innovation made. Nevertheless, his said
 Majesty does not mean that the Cities and
 Castles of *Vendome* and *Pontorson* should be
 compris'd in the Number of the said Places
 left in keeping to those of the said Religion.
 Neither shall the City, Castle and Citadel of
Aubenas be compris'd in the said Number,
 which his Majesty will dispose of at his own
 Pleasure; and tho' it were into the hands of
 one of the said Religion, it shall be no Pre-
 cedent for the future, like the other Cities that
 are

Henry IV.
 1598.
 Pope Cle-
 ment VIII

Henry IV. are granted unto them. And as for *Chauvigny*,
 1598. it shall be restored to the Bishop of *Poitiers*,
 Pope Cle- Lord of the said Place, and the new Fortifica-
 ment VIII tions made there, raz'd and demolish'd. And
 for the maintaining of the Garisons that shall
 be kept in the said Towns, Places and Castles,
 his said Majesty has granted them the Sum of
 180,000 Crowns, without including those of
 the Province of *Dauphiné* into the said Number,
 for which other provision shall be made, be-
 sides the said Sum of 180,000 Crowns yearly,
 And his said Majesty promises and assures
 them, that he will give them good and valuable
 Assignations for the same, upon the clearest
 Part of his Revenue, in such Places where the
 said Garisons shall be establish'd. And in case
 the said Revenues should not be sufficient, the
 Remainder shall be paid them out of the nearest
 Places of Receipt; neither shall the said Re-
 venues be employ'd to any other use, until the
 said Sum is intirely furnished and acquitted.
 Moreover, his said Majesty has promised and
 granted them, that he will call, at the mak-
 ing and establishing of the Settlements of the
 said Garisons, some Persons of the said Reli-
 gion, to take their Advice, and hear their Re-
 monstrances about it; which shall be done, as
 much as possible can be, to their Satisfaction.
 And in case, during the said Term of eight
 Years, there should happen any Necessity to
 alter any thing about the said Settlement; whe-
 ther it shall be thought fit by his Majesty, or
 at their Request, it shall be done in the said
 Manner, as it shall be resolved upon the first
 time. And as to the Garisons of *Dauphiné*,
 his Majesty shall take the Advice of the *Sieur*
de Lesdiguières about the Settlement thereof.
 And in case of Vacancies of some Governors
 and

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 267

and Captains of the said Places, his Majesty ^{Henry IV.} also promises and grants to them, that he will ^{1598.} put none in their room, but such as shall be ^{Pope Clement VIII} of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, having Attestations from the Colloquy where they reside, of their being of the said Religion, and Persons of Integrity. And it shall be sufficient for the Person who shall be invested of the same, upon the Brief that shall have been expedited about it, before his receiving his Letters-Patent, to produce the Attestation of the said Colloquy as abovesaid; the which, those of the said Colloquy shall be oblig'd to give him speedily without Delays; or in case of Refusal, shall acquaint his Majesty, with the Reasons them thereunto moving. And the said Term of eight Years being expired, altho' he shall then be acquitted of his Promise in relation to the said Cities; nevertheless, he has moreover granted and promised them, that in case he shall think fit, after the said Time, to keep Garisons in the same, or to leave a Governor to command there, he will not dispossess the Person then being in possession of the same, to put another in his room. He also declares, that it is his Intention, both during the said eight Years, as well as after it, to gratify those of the said Religion, and to give them a Share of the Employments, Governments, and other Honours, he shall have to dispose of, indifferently and without any Exception, according to the Quality and Merit of the Persons, as among his other Catholick Subjects: Yet nevertheless, without being obliged for the future, particularly to bestow the Cities and Places thus committed to them therein to command, to Persons of the said Religion. Moreover, his said Majesty has also granted them, That those
I. that

Henry IV. that have been employ'd by those of the
 1598. said Religion for the keeping of the Stores,
 Pope Cle- Ammunition, Powder, and Cannon of the
 ment VIII. said Cities, and such as shall be left in keep-
 ing to them, shall be continued in the said Im-
 ployments, taking Commissions from the Ma-
 sters of the Ordnance, and Commissary-General
 of the Provisions. Which Commissions shall
 be expedited gratis, they delivering unto them
 a particular Account of the said Magazines,
 Ammunition, Powder and Cannon, sign'd in
 due Form; yet they shall not be allow'd to
 pretend to any Immunities or Privileges upon
 the account of the said Commissions. Never-
 theless they shall be employ'd upon the Settle-
 ment that shall be made about the said Ga-
 risons, and shall receive their Salaries out of
 the Sums above-granted by his Majesty, for the
 Maintenance of their Garisons, for which his
 Majesty's other Revenues shall no wise be
 charged. And whereas, those of the said Re-
 ligion have intreated his Majesty, to acquaint
 them with what he has been pleased to order
 about the Exercise of the same in the City of
Metz, by reason that it is not sufficiently ex-
 plained, and comprised in his Edict and secret
 Articles; his Majesty declares, that he has or-
 dered Letters-Patent to be drawn, by which it
 is declar'd, That the Temple heretofore built
 in the said City by the Inhabitants thereof,
 shall be restored unto them, to make use of the
 Materials, and to dispose of them as they shall
 think fit; but they shall not be allowed to
 preach in it, nor perform any Exercise of their
 Religion: Nevertheless, a convenient Place
 shall be provided for them within the Enclosure
 of the said City, where they shall be allowed
 to perform the said Exercise publicly, with-
 out

out any Necessity of expressing it by his Edict. Henry IV.
 His Majesty also grants, that notwithstanding ^{1598.} Pope Cle-
 ment VIII the Prohibition made of the Exercise of the
 said Religion at the Court, and Dependence thereof, the Dukes, Peers of *France*, Officers
 of the Crown, Marquisses, Counts, Governors
 and Lieutenants-General, Marshals of Camp,
 and Captains of his said Majesty's Guards, who
 shall be in his Attendance, shall not be molested
 for what they shall do within their Houses,
 provided it be only for their own particular Fa-
 milies, their Doors being shut, without singing
 of Psalms with a loud Voice, or doing any
 thing that might discover it to be a Publick
 Exercise of the said Religion; and in case his
 said Majesty shall remain above three Days in
 any Town or Place, where the said Exercise is
 allowed, the said Time being expired, the said
 Exercise shall be continued as before his Ar-
 rival. His said Majesty also declares, That by
 reason of the present State of his Affairs, he
 has not been able at present to include the
 Countries on the other side of the Mounts
Bresse and *Barcelona*, in the Permission by him
 granted for the Exercise of the said Pretended
 Reformed Religion: Nevertheless, his Majesty
 promises, That when his said Countries shall
 be reduced under his Obedience, he will use
 his Subjects inhabiting in the same, in relation
 to Religion, and other Points granted by his
 Edict, like his other Subjects, notwithstanding
 what is contain'd in the said Edicts; and in
 the mean time they shall be maintained in the
 same Condition they are in at present. His
 Majesty also grants, That those of the Pretended
 Reformed Religion that are to be provided
 with Offices of Presidents and Counsellors cre-
 ated to serve in the Chambers ordained a-new
 by

Henry IV. his Edict, shall be invested with the said Offices gratis, and without paying any Fees for the first Time, upon the Roll that shall be presented to his Majesty, by the Deputies of the Assembly of *Chatelleraud*; as also the Substitutes of the Attorneys and Advocates-General, erected by the said Edict in the Chamber of *Bordeaux*: And in case of an Incorporation of the said Chamber of *Bordeaux*, and that of *Toulouse*, into the said Parliaments, the said Substitutes shall be provided with Counsellors' Places in the same also gratis. His Majesty will also bestow on Monsieur *Francis Pitou*, the Office of Substitute to the Attorney-General in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*; and to that end a new Election shall be made of the said Office; and after the Decease of the said *Pitou*, it shall be given to a Person of the said Pretended Reformed Religion. And in case of Vacation by Death, of two Offices of Masters of Request of the King's Hostel, his Majesty shall bestow them on Persons of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, such as his Majesty shall judge fit and capable for the good of his Service; they paying the usual Price of the Sale of the said Offices. And in the mean time, two Masters of Request shall be appointed in every Quarter to make Report of the Petitions of those of the said Religion. Moreover, his Majesty permits the Deputies of the said Religion assembled in the said City of *Chatelleraud*, to remain in a Body to the Number of ten in the City of *Saumur*, to prosecute the Execution of his Edict, until his said Edict is verif'd in his Court of Parliament of *Paris*; notwithstanding their being injoin'd by the said Edict, to separate immediately: Yet nevertheless, without their being allowed to make
any

1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

by new Demands in the Name of the said ^{Henry IV.} Assembly, or to meddle with any thing besides ^{1598.} the said Execution, Deputation, and Dispatch ^{Pope Clement VIII} the Commissioners who shall be ordained that End. And his Majesty hath given them his Faith and Word for all that is above-written by this present Brief, which he has been pleased to sign with his own Hand, and to have it counter-sign'd by Us, his Secretaries of State; Willing the said Brief to be of the same Force and Value to them, as if the Contents hereof were included in an Edict verif'd in his Courts of Parliament; those of the said Religion being satisfy'd, out of Consideration for the Good of his Service, and the State of his Affairs, not to press him to put this Ordinance in any other more authentick Form, being so confident of his Majesty's Word and Goodness, that they assure themselves, that he will make them enjoy the same fully: Having to that End ordered all necessary Expeditions and Dispatches for the Execution of what is above-written, to be forthwith expedited.

Thus Sign'd,

H E N R Y.

And lower,

F O R G E T.

Such was the famous Edict of *Nantz*, whereupon we think proper to make the following Reflexions.

FIRST, That it was not such as the Assembly of *Cbatelberaud* had desired to be. ^{CII.} The King, in order to shew his Authority, ^{Some general Considerations upon that Edict.} and that he acted freely and without the least Constraint, had made several Alterations in the Articles,

Henry IV. Articles, some of them he denied absolutely,
 1598. some others he limited; That was not all, but
 Pope Cle- new Alterations must be made before it could
 ment VIII be registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, as
 we shall say, when we shall relate the Trans-
 actions of the next Year.

Secondly, The Situation of the King's and of the Reformed's Affairs, when that Edict was granted, deserves to be particularly taken notice of. The Reformed were disarmed, and, as one may say, at the Discretion of a victorious King, who was come to *Angers*, at the head of an Army near 15,000 Men strong, Horse and Foot, whereby the Assembly of *Chateleraud* was put in a great Fright, lest the King should fall upon them, and force them to accept his own Terms: he spoke very roughly to their Deputies, nay he threatned them; so that, being not able to dive into the real Intention of his Majesty, they were almost brought to Despair. This Passage is so much the more observable, as it is a most proper Argument against the Calumny of some Catholick Writers, who have boldly asserted, that the said Edict was but a Grant which had been extorted by Force. True it is, that his Majesty was very far from being so angry as he feigned to be; that is very plain, by the kind Reception the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Trimouille*, (the two great Sticklers for the Liberties of the Reformed Churches in *France*.) met with at *Saumur*, where the King welcomed them both with such signal Demonstrations of Love, that thereby one might easily perceive, that his Threatnings had been rather to maintain his Royal Authority, or to dazzle the *Pope's*, his Legate's, and the Leaguers' Eyes, than out of any real Anger.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Besides the Reasons above-mention-
ed of these long Delays, before that Affair could
be concluded, there were some others, arising
from the very Nature of the Things which the
Reformed demanded, and which I shall relate
summarily. Great Difficulties arose both about
the Thing itself, and the Form thereof, and
the Court had no less Difficulty for agreeing upon
the one than on the other. The Demands of the
Reformed came to six or seven general Articles,
but each of these Articles was sub-divided into
a great Number of others, necessary either for
an Explanation, or for the Security of the
general Demands. Therefore, having brought
first all their Propositions into the Compass of
6, or 97 Articles, the Debates which arose
during the Course of that Negotiation, obliged
them to add several new Articles to the former,
either to remove or prevent the Difficulties,
which might occur either in the Conclusion, or
the Execution of the Edict. So then, without
disturbing from the Substance of their Demands,
they only in such Things, wherein they had
proposed the Alterations made by the Court,
they made several Additions to their Memoirs
from time to time, and altered the Form and
style thereof, as they thought proper. They
gave two several Titles to these new Articles;
one of them, which were put at the End of
; and were few in Number, were called *Addi-
tions*, the others were called *Explanations*, be-
cause they were Articles, whereupon they de-
manded the King to explain himself. These Ex-
planations followed the Article the Contents
whereof wanted to be explained; sometimes,
several such Explanations were made upon one
of the same Article, which went by the Name
First, Second, &c.

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

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Henry IV. THEIR FIRST GENERAL ARTICLE was
 1598. a new Edict, because they could not rest
 Pope Cle- tisfy'd with those formerly granted, and that in
 ment VIII their Opinion, their past Services deserved to be
 better rewarded; they could not bear to be no
 better treated under the Reign of *Henry the*
Fourth (their *Foster-Child*, whom they had
 brought up with so great Care and Tenderneſs,
 whom they had fed with their own sweating
 Blood, and Substance) than they had been un-
 der *Henry III.* their greatest Persecutor. They
 said, that upon the King's turning Catholick,
 they had been solemnly promised a better Edict,
 at *Mantes*, which Promise had been renewed a
 Year after at *St. Germain*. So that their Pre-
 tensions were not groundod (*as the Promoters*
of the Repealing of the Edict of Nantz would fain
have persuaded the World,) upon the Prejudice
 they had suffered by the several Treaties made
 with the Heads of the Leaguers, which were
 so many Infringements of the Edict of 1577;
 but upon the Greatness of their Services, for
 which they demanded an Edict, as a Reward
 due to them. As to the Breaches made to the
 said Edict by the said Treaties, they were very
 little concerned in them, for they plainly de-
 clared that they would not have it, thinking
 themselves rather prejudiced than favoured by
 it. The King was much puzzled at that, for
 he would fain to persuade the Pope and the
 Catholick Party, whom he dreaded above all
 Things, that he did nothing in Behalf of his
 Reformed Subjects, but what his Predecessor
 had done. The Catholicks had a Notion that
 the Edict of 1577, ought to be restored to the
 Reformed; and whereas by the several Trea-
 ties made with the Leaguers it had been de-
 rogated from in many Instances, they thought
 it

It was just to make them some amends for it, ^{Henry IV.} but then they refused obstinately to have that ^{1598.} Amends go under any other Name but that ^{Pope Cle-} of *Compensation*, for the Damages they had ^{ment VIII} suffered by the said Treaties. However, that Difficulty which for so long a Time had kept them at a Stand, was at last removed as soon as the King's Commissaries were arrived; the Word of *Compensation* remained, for to satisfy the zealous Catholicks and the Court of *Rome*. But on the other hand they had also a Regard to the Demand of the Reformed, and they obtained many things over and above the promised Compensation, because the King, who loved them intirely, was willing to reward their long and faithful Services. In a word, he gave them a new Edict which repealed all others, and therefore it could not go by the Name of a mere Compensation for the Infringements made to the former; since they were all abolished by this, which, for the future, was to be the standing Law in their stead. And this is to be observed against the above-mentioned Promoters of the Repealing of the Edict of *Nantz*, who pretended that since the said Edict was only a mere Compensation for what had been derogated from the Edict of 1577, by the Treaties with the Leaguers, it was likely enough that these Damages were not very considerable; and consequently that the Intention of the Edict of *Nantz* was to grant but little to the Reformed. That Principle being false, the Consequence can be but very unjust.

THE SECOND GENERAL ARTICLE had respect to the Freedom of Exercise, and was of a very large Extent, for it contained the Grounds of the Right of that Exercise, which was to be established or continued; the Bounds

Henry IV. of that Privilege, according to the Times, Persons, and Places; and generally all the Circumstances of the said Exercise, together with the Exemption from certain things related to the *Roman* Worship, which their Consciences could not comply with. The Assembly had at first demanded a full Liberty of Exercise all over the Kingdom, without any Distinction of Places; but they desisted from that Point, either because in several great Cities there was not one single Reformed, and consequently the Grant of an Exercise in such Places would be to no purpose; or because in some of the best, such as *Bordeaux, Thoulouse, &c.* they would have rather renewed the civil War, than suffered the Exercise of the Reformed Religion within their Walls; or because it had been granted to other Towns, that no such Exercise should ever be introduced amongst them. Therefore they restrained that Demand, to a general Freedom of dwelling wherever they pleased, and to have a free Exercise in certain Places only, since it was impossible to have it every where: But they stood fast to their Resolution of getting it with a larger Extent than before. This was at last granted them, and two Articles were set down in the Edict for that purpose: By the first whereof, their Exercise was permitted in all Places where they had established it ever since the Edicts of the League in 1585, till the Truce between *Henry III.* and the King of *Navarre*, in 1589, and after the Truce, so long as the War continued with the Leaguers; and after some Altercations all those Places were comprised under the general Clause of Places, wherein the Exercise of the Reformed Religion had been made in the Years 1596 and 1597, not that it should be

be requisite for grounding a Right that the Ex-^{Henry IV.}ercise should have continued in those Places for ^{1598.}those two Years; but the Meaning of it was, ^{Pope Cle-}that the said Exercise should have been settled ^{ment VIII} in those Places at least in either of these two Years, so that a Place where it had not been settled but in *August* 1597, had the same Right, as that where it had been settled in 1596. The Reason thereof was, that whereas the Reformed required the Preservation of their Exercise, wherever it was settled at the Day when they subscribed their Memoirs to be sent to Court, the Catholicks were afraid, lest during the new Delays of the Negotiations, which were not as yet finished in *August* 1597, new Churches might be set up, and the Confirmation thereof demanded, as well as of those of 1596; therefore they caused all the Dates of these Settlements to be fixed upon the Month of *August* 1597. The second Article granted that in each Bailiwick or Seneschalship, where, by the Edict of 1577, the Reformed had a publick Place for their Religious Worship, either in a Burrough, or in the Suburbs of a Town, another should be given them, besides the first. And it is to be observed, that in all this, the *Roman* Catholicks secured the whole Advantage to themselves, and would never suffer that the Reformed Religion should stand upon even Ground with theirs, by granting them a Liberty equal to their own; the *Roman* Religion had a Right to be professed publicly every where, but the Reformed was limited to certain Places, and restrained by certain Conditions, as being only tolerated. Debates arose likewise, about the Nature of the Places to be granted for the publick Worship, whether they should be within the Walls of Towns or in the Sub-

Henry IV. ^{1598.} urbs; whether in Burroughs, or Villages. There were some concerning the Manner of declaring the Places where the new Possession gave a Right of Exercise, because the safest Way appeared to be the less advantageous; it was proposed to get all those Places named one by one, in the Edict, which indeed was the best, or to comprehend them all under some general Denomination. This last was followed, because a very odd Notion of the Antichrist's sudden Fall prevailing then amongst many of the Reformed Divines, they thought that it would be more advantageous for them to have the Places of their Exercise comprehended under some general Denomination, than if they were mentioned one by one: And that wrong Notion induced them to several Mistakes, not only on this account but on several others, for many Years afterwards. All other Points which had any Reference to this General Article, such as the Liberty of visiting and comforting the Sick, even in the Hospitals; of assisting the Prisoners; of exhorting the Criminals, and attending them to the Place of Execution; the Exemption from several things, whereat the Consciences of the Reformed were offended, as being Parts, or Circumstances of the Catholick Worship, and several other Articles of the same Nature, met with proportionable Difficulties before they could be agreed upon; but that concerning the Burials occasioned the warmest Debates of all the rest. The Catholicks having, through a blind Zeal, contrived Canons, which under colour of Piety, destroy all Sense of Humanity, in forbidding all such as the Councils or *Popes* have declared Hereticks, to be buried in holy Ground, as they call it, their Clergy could not endure the Reformed should be buried in common

mon Church-yards, nor even the Lords and Gentlemen in the Chapels of their own House ; or in the Churches wherein they had a Right of Patronage. On the other hand the Reformed, tho' no longer infatuated with the Conceit, that one Spot of Ground is holier than another, earnestly required that the same Church-yard should serve for both Parties, because they could not brook that Distinction, by which they were injuriously reflected upon : For Hereticks being excluded out of common Church-yards, the Burying of the Reformed in other Places, was a plain Declaration of their being Hereticks ; and by such a publick Blur, they saw themselves exposed to the Hatred of the Catholicks, a People always zealous, even to Fury and Madneſs, againſt any thing that appears to them in the Shape of Hereſy. Now this important Article was explained by the Ediſt, or executed by the King's Commiſſaries in ſuch a Manner as proved under *Lewis XIV.* the fatal Spring of innumerable Vexations and Injuſtices.

A THIRD GENERAL ARTICLE of the Demands of the Reformed, was concerning the Subſiſtance of the Miniſters and the Maintenance of the Schools. The Reformed required to be freed from paying Tenths to the *Roman Clergy*, they thought that they owed them nothing, ſince they did not own them as their Paſtors ; and they thought it unjuſt, that being at the Charge of maintaining their own Miniſters, they ſhould alſo contribute to the Subſiſtance of the Prieſts of a contrary Religion. They required, that, at leaſt, their Miniſters ſhould be paid out of the publick Money, according to an Article of the Treaty of Truce with *Henry III.* They alſo deſired Schools for the

Henry IV. 1598. Pope Clement VIII. Instruction of their Youth, with a publick Allowance for the Masters; and moreover, that they might be admitted Doctors, Professors and Teachers in all the Universities and Faculties, to the end that their Children might freely take their Degrees in the most flourishing Colleges. In this Pretension of publick Salaries, they thought not so much of saving their own Money, as they aimed at the most important Point of being owned Members of the State, equal to the Catholicks, and capable as well as they, of all Sorts of honourable and profitable Employments. Therefore the Catholicks, who could not endure that Equality of the Reformed with them, stoutly opposed this Article. As to the Ministers' Salary, it was put to an end, or rather eluded by the King's Promise, to pay the Reformed a yearly Sum of Money, to be employed, as they should think fit, without giving an Account thereof: But still they trifled about the Quantity of that Sum, about the Assignations of the Money, and about the Security of the Payment. And after all this, the Measures they took were so uncertain, that, a little time after the Conclusion, they complained of their being ill paid, and they enjoyed not the Effect of this Promise much longer than twenty Years. Moreover, as the Sum promised was not sufficient to maintain such a great Number of Ministers, that was in a manner made up by the secret Articles, whereby they were allowed to accept Gifts and Legacies for the Subsistence of Ministers, Scholars, and the Poor, and to make Assessments upon their People on certain Conditions. As to the Schools, their fantastical Notion of the speedy Fall of the Antichrist, above-mentioned, occasioned their Eagerness for being freely admitted

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mitted into the Universities and other public Henry IV.

Colleges of the Kingdom; and whereas the 1598.
 reformed were then generally reputed for Men Pope Cle-
 a greater and more polite Learning than the ment VIII
 holicks, they did not question but that
 god would fall to the Ground, and their
 religion be triumphant as soon as their great
 god could appear either in the Professors'
 chairs, or in the Pulpits, and as soon as Men
 did embrace their Doctrine without being
 hindered from any temporal Advantage. That
 ambition made them to neglect to take proper
 measures for their own Schools, Colleges and
 universities; they ran after a Shadow, forsak-
 ing the real Body, which Neglect of their
 forefathers their Children paid very dear for
 another Time. Their Demands in that re-
 spect were granted without much Difficulty,
 the Conditions were so ill-explained, that
 the Concession proved fatal unto them, as we
 see in its proper Place.

FOURTH GENERAL ARTICLE where-
 in the Reformed insisted, was concerning
 the Security of the Estates, and of Civil and
 personal Properties; by virtue whereof, Chil-
 dren, or the next of Kin, inherit their deceased
 parents or Relations' Estates; and the Mem-
 bers of the same Commonwealth are made ca-
 pable of receiving Benefits, Gifts and Legacies,
 buying and Selling, of Contracting, Acting
 and Disposing of what belongs to them accord-
 ing to Law. The Nobility and Gentry had,
 as the general Concern, a special Interest
 in, in regard to their Fiefs, Lordships,
 manors and Honours: And, whereas by
 the Canons of the Church, the Hereticks were
 deprived of these Rights, and that by the
 word HERETICK, they meant whomsoever
 opposed,

Henry IV. ^{1598.} opposed, not the Holy Scripture, but the Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and consequently the Reformed; the Necessity of making some Provisions against such an unjust and cruel Law was obvious enough; nothing was wanting in that respect but the Renewing what had been already enacted by the former Edicts; and this was accordingly done, with some Exceptions relating to some particular Cases, some whereof were explained in the secret Articles, and others left undecided, for Reasons of State.

A FIFTH GENERAL ARTICLE whereupon the Managers of the Edict on the Reformed Side insisted much, was for obtaining an equal Number of Judges of both Religions in every Parliament. The Ill-Will of these Courts, who daily did notorious Pieces of Injustice to the Reformed, and started a World of Difficulties and Scruples in the verifying of the Edicts granted for their Security, rendered that necessary. But the same Parliaments had such an Interest to prevent the Multiplying of Offices in their Bodies, and the Dismembering of their Jurisdictions, that this Affair met with many Difficulties and Obstacles. Nevertheless, the King granted one Chamber, composed partly of Reformed and partly of Catholicks, in the Parliaments of *Toulouse*, *Bordeaux* and *Grenoble*, where the Causes of the Reformed should respectively be brought. There was already one at *Castres*, and some Reformed Judges had been established in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and it seems that the Reformed of *Dauphiné*, where *Lesdiguières* had a full Power, had nothing common in several Affairs with those of the same Religion in other Provinces; three Judges were then added to the former, to make up a Mixt-Chamber, which at the very Time

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Time of its Creation, was incorporated with the Parliament, insomuch that its Members were called in, whenever any thing was to be debated in a full House. Moreover, the King promised to erect a Chamber at *Paris*, consisting of ten Catholick Judges, and six Reformed; and the Reformed who lived within the respective Jurisdictions of the Parliaments of *Rouën*, *Rennes*, and *Dijon*, had their Choice either to bring their Causes before that of their own Province, or before any of the Chambers granted, in the nearest of them. The King's Promise to the Reformed in respect of the Parliament of *Paris*, was not executed; but, he made some amends for it, by creating some new Offices of Judges in that of *Rouën*, and a Chamber of the Edict like that of *Paris*, which the said Parliament of *Rouën* was very glad to accept of, tho' a great Enemy to the Reformed; nay, they declared that the Treaty concluded with the Marquis of *Villars*, their Governour during the Time of the League, was not against that Concession; the Reason for such a great Condescension was taken from their Self-Interest; they were made sensible by Experience, of the great Damage they were to suffer, if the Reformed of *Normandy*, who were very numerous, continued to bring their Causes to *Paris*; the Catholicks themselves of that Province, stuck not sometimes to beg their Intervention in their own Causes, when they had some secret Jealousy, or other Exception against their Judges. The Reformed of *Britanny* had not the same Favour in the Parliament of *Rennes*, which were some of the most furious against them, either because they would not consent to it, or, that being so partial and passionate, a sufficient Number of equitable Men could

Henry IV.

1598.

Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. could not be found among them to make up
 1598. a Chamber, or finally, because the Number of
 Pope Clement VIII Reformed in that Province was then but in-
 considerable. Nothing was altered in what had
 been agreed upon concerning the Parliament of
Dijon.

A SIXTH GENERAL ARTICLE was, for
 a free Admittance to all Offices of State, War,
 Justice, Policy, Treasury, and to all Com-
 missions, Employments, Professions, Arts and
 Trades, from the highest to the meanest, with-
 out Danger of being excluded from any on
 account of Religion. It was directly against
 the Canon-Law, which debars from all these
 Rights, such as are not obedient to the *Roman*
 Church, and who are for that Reason termed
 Hereticks; and it had been the Original of all
 the Oppositions made to the Reformed, during
 so many Years together; but it was of such
 great Consequence to them, that they would
 never desist from that Article; because, besides
 the Honour and Credit of Offices, which they
 would not have their Families to be deprived
 of, they were sensible, that, if that honourable
 Door was shut to them, such as had more Am-
 bition than Religion; would soon forsake their
 naked and barren Religion, and thereby bring
 the Reformation to a declining State. The
 greatest Opposition came from Parliaments,
 who refused to admit them to Offices of the
 Law. But at last they obtained their Desire,
 and the King declared them capable of hold-
 ing all Sorts of Offices; whereby they thought
 they had gained a considerable Point, because
 that Honour being denied to Hereticks by the
 Canons, as above-said, their being admitted to
 them, was a Discharge from that odious and
 hateful Name. Yet in this important Affair,
 the

he Reformed were highly mistaken, when they Henry IV.
 contented themselves with a bare, and general ^{1598.}
 Declaration of their Capableness of Offices, ^{Pope Cle-}
 without solidly engaging the King to declare ^{ment VIII}
 hat they should be really and actually conferred
 upon them. There were some among them,
 who fore-seeing that some time or other, this
 general Declaration would be mis-interpreted;
 moved in the Assembly, for fixing, in each
 Kind of Employments or Offices, a certain
 Number of Places, that should be conferred
 upon the Reformed. *Du Plessis* treating some
 Years before with *Villeroy*, had obtained the
 fourth Part of all Places in the Kingdom, and
 was even in hopes to obtain a third. But
 the Assembly thought that such a General De-
 claration had something more flattering than
 the Limitation of a certain Number of Places,
 because thereby the Reformed were more fully
 equalled to the Catholicks: They did not con-
 sider that there was a vast Difference between
 declaring one capable of a Place and bestowing
 it upon him. It is also what *d'Offat* saith to
 the *Pope*, in order to excuse what his Master
 had done, and to appease him, because he
 feigned to be very angry against his Majesty.
 True it is, that at the Time of the publishing
 of this Edict, the Reformed got some Advan-
 tage by that Article, the best part of all infe-
 rior Offices, fell immediately to their Share, and
 even the Catholick Lords were so well per-
 suaded, that they had either more Capacity or
 Honesty than others, that they stuck not to
 prefer them, before the Catholicks, to such
 Places as were in their Gift: Moreover, most
 Part of the Offices being venal in *France*, the
 Reformed bought them dearer than others;
 and by that Means, overcame all Sorts of Op-
 positions,

Henry IV. positions, which happened especially for Places
 1598. of a new Creation, when he that bids more is
 Pope Cle- sure to be the Buyer. But this happy State of
 ment VIII the Reformed lasted not above 27 Years; the
 Event has shewn that it would have been better
 for us, had our Fore-fathers been more exact
 in stipulating the Number of Places and Offices
 that were to be the Share of the Reformed;
 for our implacable Enemies did not forget that
 perfidious Maxim above-mentioned, that to de-
 clare one capable of any Office, and to bestow
 it upon him, are two different Things; for,
 very far from being admitted to high Offices,
 or preferred to the greatest Dignities, according
 to our Merits, we have been shifted with, even
 about the meanest Offices, and the most incon-
 siderable Trades of the Kingdom.

A SEVENTH GENERAL ARTICLE, was con-
 cerning the Securities, the principal whereof was,
 in the Opinion of the Reformed, the keeping of
 those Places which they had now in their Pos-
 session, and were numerous and strong enough
 to resist their Enemies in case of an Attack. But
 this very Thing made the Difficulty; for the
 Council was very unwilling to leave so many
 Fortresses in the hands of brave and bold Men,
 amongst whom there was a great Number of
 warlike and courageous Nobility, who had
 been permitted to unite together for their mu-
 tual Defence. But the Assembly was inflexible
 upon this Point, and would by no means
 hearken, of parting with what they had; the
 Experience of the Times past, made them afraid
 that the Edict might be used as a Pretence to
 disarm them, and that the Catholicks would
 not scruple to break their Oath, as soon as
 their Places of Surety should be taken from
 them, and they would no longer be at the Dis-
 cretion

cretion of their Enemies and irreconcilable ^{Henry IV.} Persecutors. Besides that general Interest, no ^{1598.} doubt but several private ones were mixed ^{Pope Clement VIII} with it; for there was no Lord, or Captain, but who had some Place or other under his Command, and none of them would have yielded willingly his own. However, the Council, desirous to hinder the Multiplication of these Places, limited the Time during which a Place ought to have been in the possession of the Reformed, for its being reckoned a Cautionary Place. All this Article was very difficult to resolve, for they debated about the Number and Quality of the Places, about the Strength of the Garisons; about the Nomination of Governours, and the Oath to be taken by them; about the Change in case of Death; about the Disposition of the Under-Offices; about the Time of the keeping of them; and about several other things which respected the Circumstances of that Trust. The Assembly desired chiefly to have it declared, that these Places that should be ascribed to the Reformed, should not exclude them from other Governments, whereto they might be chose, according to their Merits. The Council made use of all their Arts to evade these Pretensions, and above all, to have the Nomination of the Governours residing in the King, to the end that such as were admitted might be rather in the Court Interest than the Cause's. In order to get this Point, the Court was obliged to grant, that those who should be nominated by the King, should have a Certificate from the Colloquy, to the end that the said Colloquy might challenge them, if they were suspicious; besides, that the King promised them to take their Advice whenever any Government should become vacant,

Henry IV. vacant; that he might not chuse such Persons
 1598. into those Places, as would be disagreeable to
 Pope Cle- them.
 ment VIII

It must be observed, that the granting of these Places to the Reformed; was not so contrary to the King's Interests; nor even to his Intentions, as some have pretended, and as his Majesty himself was sometimes forced, out of Policy, to say. This Prince was not yet free from the Perplexity, wherein the Uncertainty of the Succession, the Authority of the greatest Lords in the Kingdom; and the Power of the Chief Officers of his Troops had put him. The Seeds of those Conspiracies which had been raised against him and the State, were rather hidden then quite stifled: And there was too much reason to fear, that so many Men being corrupted by the Practices and Gold of *Spain*, they might form such a Party as would give him a great deal of Trouble to destroy; whereupon he complained very often, that there was none about him, whom Prudence could permit him to confide in. But, on the other hand, when he recollected to himself, the strong Affection that the Reformed had so seasonably shew'd towards him for so many Years together, he was satisfy'd that they were his approved Friends, from whom, in the greatest Emergencies, he might promise himself all Assistance. It is true, at that time they were dissatisfy'd with his Indifference towards them, and his delaying their Affairs; but he was certain he should always find them ready to lay down their Lives for his Service, as soon as ever he should give them any Token of his former Confidence and Trust in them: And therefore, he thought it a very material Point wherein he was deeply concerned, to preserve them,
 and

and spoke afterwards to his Confidents of the Peace he had granted them, as a Thing he had most ardently wished for, and which would be very useful to him in his greatest Undertakings. He look'd upon the Reformed as his own Party, and their strong Places as his own : He knew very well, that whatsoever Intrigues *Spain* might carry on with the turbulent Spirits of the Court, yet that Part of the State which was held by the Reformed, could not be taken from him, and that they might be serviceable even for keeping others in the Bounds of their Duty and Allegiance. He desired only to have a Power of Naming the Governours of their Towns, to the end that he might place in them, such who were as much adhering to his Interest as to their Religion; and who consequently should depend more upon him, than upon the Councils or political Assemblies ; and for procuring their Consent to this Article, he found out the Expedient above-mentioned.

But there was another great Difficulty, about the Payment of the Sums necessary for the Maintaining of the Garisons, the Fortifications, and the Walls of these Towns: For the Catholicks were much offended; to see such great Sums paid by the King to the Hereticks, for Maintaining so many Fortresses that rendered them very formidable; Nevertheless it could not be refused to Men who could say, that the like had been done for the Leaguers, the greatest Part whereof had Pensions, and their Garisons paid out of the King's Coffers: So that the Debate was reduced to consider the Means how to save the King's Money ; and the Reformed were contented with so little, that it can hardly be believed that all their Garisons could be paid with so inconsiderable a Sum.

Henry IV. When all was thus settled, a new Debate arose
 1598. about the Security to be given to the Reformed
 Pope Cle- for the Payment of these Sums promised; they
 went VIII would have been very glad, had they been
 allowed to stop the King's Money in the Receivers-Office, in their respective Provinces, rather than to accept of such Assignments as they feared would be both inconvenient and uncertain. But it was not thought becoming with their Duty to show forth so great Distrust of the King's Word, and therefore they were contented with the Promise he gave them of convenient and certain Assignments. There were some private Persons also, having no Employment, either in the Cautionary Towns or in the Army, who made private Requests, some of Arrerages of Pensions, others for some Gifts to settle their Affairs, others for some Recompense for their past Services, which had not yet been acknowledged, &c. under several Pretences; but the whole of their Demands amounted to so small a Sum, that being put all together it would scarcely equal the least Recompense that some of the Leaguers had obtained.

Fourthly, When all Things were agreed on, there still remained a general Difficulty concerning the Manner how these Concessions should be published. An Edict seemed to be the most authentick Way, but there were so many Obstacles, so many Fears of offending the Catholicks, and of giving any Pretence to the Disaffected of beginning new Disturbances, and such Hopes given to the Churches of mending their Condition with the Times, that at last they agreed upon several Forms under which several Concessions should be granted, as it had been done on other Occasions. First, They gave an Edict, which contained the General

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neral Articles to the Number of ninety two, ^{Henry IV.} as you have seen them. Then some particular ^{1598.} Heads were added to the Edict under the ^{Pope Cle-} Name of secret Articles, to the number of ^{ment VIII} fifty six, among which were many of great Importance, which well deserved to have been inserted into the Body of the Edict; but the Reformed contented themselves with placing them in the Appendix; because it was directed to the Parliaments, several of whom verif'd it. What is very singular in that Appendix, is, that some of the Articles are worded after such a Manner, that it seems that they regarded only the Time past, and the present; but not the future, which nevertheless have been executed from the Time of the Publication of the Edict, to the Time of its Repealing, without calling them in question; such were the Articles concerning Marriages in such Degrees which the Catholicks are not allowed of without a Licence from *Rome*. This in a manner made some Amends for some other Articles of the Edict itself which could never have been put in execution; such as that which allowed the Reformed to live in all Places of the Kingdom; for there were several Towns wherein they could never appear with Safety, much less live therein without Disturbance. But a particular Observation must be made here, concerning the Liberty of Conscience; the Edict aimed purposely at the settling and confirming thereof, and yet there was no formal Article therein, whereby all the *Frenchmen* were allowed it: But it was plainly pre-supposed by the Edict, and the Spirit of Liberty was such amongst them, that they fancy'd themselves, that *France* was the only Kingdom in the World, wherein Liberty suffered less Encroachment; so that all

Henry IV. the King's Subjects were allowed to enjoy it, ^{1598.} as to Religion, for many Years together, without the least Disturbance; and that Privilege ^{Pope Clement VIII} has not been violated, until the Edict has been made void in its most important Concessions.

Fifthly, The other Things which could be mentioned neither in the Edict, nor in the secret Articles, were promised by private Patents, wherewith the Reformed were satisfied, tho' these Sorts of Letters have not force of Law, but continue so, only at the King's Pleasure, who may revoke them whenever he has a mind to it. Nevertheless, having a particular Regard to his Majesty's Affairs, they yielded to his Will in this Respect. There were three Patents of this Nature. By the first, which is of the 3d of *April*, a Sum of 45,000 Crowns was granted for the Payment of the Ministers. As the Court durst not declare openly the Use for which that Sum was destined, lest the Catholics should murmur, seeing Part of the King's Revenue employed for the keeping up of Heresy; so they were obliged to put in some Clause which might secure it from giving them any Scandal. *Du Plessis*, having inserted an Article upon this Subject, amongst those which had been agreed upon at *Mantes*, had obtained that the promised Sum should be paid under the Name of Lady *Catbarine*, the King's own Sister, because she could receive greater Gratifications of the King her Brother without giving any Suspicion: But she could not live always, and therefore some other Device must be found out, which might serve them at all Times; so that it was declared in the Patent that this Sum was given to the Reformed, *To be laid out by them in their secret Concerns, which his Majesty would have neither specify'd nor declared.*

The

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The second Patent was dated the 30th of ^{Henry IV.} April, and concerned the Cautionary Towns, ^{1598.} and Places; as their Number amounted to ^{Pope Cle-} above two hundred, large or small, the Court ^{ment VIII} was afraid to offend the Catholicks, had an Article thereof been inserted in the Edict, specifying them one after another. This Patent explained likewise several other Things which seemed to be left undetermined by the Edict, The King declared therein, by way of a Preface, the Motives that induced him to grant them the keeping of these Fortresses. And in the Conclusion we find a very honourable Mention made of the Reformed's Complaisance, and of their Regard for his Majesty's Interest. Thus as the private Articles were a kind of Instructions for the Executors of the Edict, wherein the King explained many Things, which the General Articles had left obscure and undecided; so we may say also, that this Patent served as a Kind of a *Salvo* to certain Articles of the Edict which the Times would not permit to be put in more favourable Terms, altho' the King's Intention and Inclination was not averse from it. And above all, he justify'd the Reformed from the Reproach of having made any Advantage of the Conjunction of Affairs, in forcing him to grant them what they pleased, since he declared, that *they were contented with the King's Word, upon so many important Points; because the State of his Affairs would not allow him to give them better Securities.*

The third Patent, which I have omitted, was for the Distribution of 23,000 Crowns, to several private Persons, to some for one Time, to others for two Years, to some for four, and to others again for eight Years:

Henry IV. To some by way of Gratification, and to others
 1598. as Arrears due for past Services. Thus all the
 Pope Cle- personal Favours, that the King granted to the
 ment VIII Reformed, amounted to a very small Matter,
 whereby it appeared, that private Interest was
 not the Motive of their Pursuits, as they de-
 clared in all their Requests. All the Sums
 amounted not to 250,000 Crowns: And, even
 at the End of eight Years the Whole was to
 be reduced to less than a fifth Part, which they
 gave to the Reformed in Compensation of the
 Tenth, which they were obliged to pay to the
 Catholick Clergy.

THESE Observations which I have made
 upon the Edict of *Nantes*, and which for the
 most part are abstracted out of the Vth Book
 of the 1st Volume of the Revd. Mr. *Benoit's*
 History of the said Edict, seems to me sufficient
 for giving a true Notion of that knotty and
 important Affair, of the Difficulties which the
 Managers thereof had to overcome, before they
 could come to a Conclusion.

CIII. And now, I think it very proper to say
 Character something of these chief Managers, either on
 of some of the King's Side, or the Reformed. The Count
 of the chief of SCHOMBERG, THUANUS, CALIGNON, and
 Managers DE VIC, were the King's Commissaries, charged
 thereof. to transact with the Deputies of the Reformed
 assembled at *Chatel-herault*; to whom we may
 join the Baron of RONY, who, tho' he was
 but seldom present at the Conferences, in-
 fluenced, nevertheless, the Assembly by his
 great Credit.

GASPARD OF SCHOMBERG, Count of *Nan-*
 teuil, was born of a most noble and ancient
 Family in *Germany*; he was at *Angers* for his
 Studies, when the first Civil War broke out,
 in 1562, and withstood, at the Head of the
 Reformed,

of Gas-
 pard of
 Schom-
 berg.

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Reformed, the first Onset of the Catholicks ^{Henry IV.} that came to surprize that City, but having been ^{1598.} forsaken by his Troop, he was forced to re- ^{Pope Cle- ment VIII} treat; since that time, he took Party in the King's Army, where he served first as Voluntier, then as Captain, afterwards as Colonel of the Reïsters, and then their Major-General; in which Capacity he made himself so necessary, that King *Charles IX.* ingaged him, by his Esteem and Favours, to settle in the Kingdom, with the Command of these foreign Troops, under the Title of Colonel of the black Bands. He was a Man of a wonderful Genius and Sagacity in the Management of Affairs, eloquent, persuasive, a good Soldier, and a great Captain; to these great Qualifications, he joined a great Probity, and Integrity, he was courteous, affable, obliging, liberal even above his Fortune; and being a great Courtier he was naturally officious to every one, which is very rare amongst the Courtiers; his Virtues and his Sollicitude for the Glory and Welfare of the Kingdom, endeared him to the three Kings under whom he served, and commanded the Esteem of all the great Lords; his House was opened to the distressed and those who were in low Circumstances, especially to the Learned, and he admitted them to his Table, and assisted them in their Wants. For thirty six Years together, he was employed in several Negotiations, and was always at the Head of the most important Affairs, and enjoyed very great Honours either in Peace or War; he seemed born rather for his Friends and the Publick than for himself, for he died very deeply in debt, which he had contracted much more for the Service of the Publick and for his Friends, than for his own Use. His Lady *Johanna*

Henry IV. *Chasteigner of La Rochepozay*, discharg'd them
 1598. all by her good Economy, several Years after
 Pope Clement VII. his Decease. He died suddenly of a Suffoca-
 tion, in his Coach, as he came from *Conflans*,
 a Mile from *Paris*, before he could reach any
 Inn, on the 17th of *March* 1599; he had
 been there in the Morning with President
Tbuanus, to receive the King's Instructions,
 having been named his Commissary in the
 Southern Provinces, for putting the Edict in
 execution; his Corpse was opened, and to
 their great Surprize and Wonder, the Surgeons
 found that the Membrane, and the fleshy Part
 that covers the left Region of the Heart, and
 is necessary for the Respiration, was become
 as hard as a Bone, through the too great heat
 and too much eating, (for he was tall and big
 of his Shape,) so that he could breathe but
 with difficulty, and was at last the Occasion of
 his pre-mature Death. For along Time be-
 fore, he had laboured under that Disease, and
 when he was seized with the Fits thereof, he
 felt a violent Pain in the Film of the Heart,
 was all over in a Sweat, and ready to faint away
 for Weakness. But as he was naturally very
 patient, his Disease never hindered him from
 going to Court every Day, and was so well
 used through a long habit to these Fits, that
 even his own Family troubled themselves very
 little about it. He was Governour of the *High*
and Low March, a Country in the *Lyonnese*,
 and one of the King's most honourable Privy-
 Council, *Charles IX.* had favoured his Ac-
 quisition of the County of *Nanteuil* which he
 bought of the Duke of *Guise*. He had two
 Sons and three Daughters by his Lady above-
 named, viz. *Henry* and *Annibal*, this last was
 killed in the Wars of *Hungary* before his
 Father's

Father's Death (c); *Henry* was Knight of the King's Orders, Superintendant of his Exchequer, and Marshal of *France*, he died in 1632; his first Wife was *Frances*, Marchioness of *Espinay* and *Barbescieux*, Countess of *Durestal*, by whom he had *Charles* of *Schomberg* Marshal of *France*, and Colonel-General of the *Switzers*, &c. &c. (d) so well known in this Kingdom, whither he came on account of his Religion, at the repealing of the Edict of *Nantes*: He was killed at the Passage of the *Boyne* in *Ireland*, and left two Sons, the eldest was killed in *Piedmont* at the Battle of *La Marfaille*, the youngest succeeded to his Titles and Honours, and died in *London*, leaving a Daughter married first to the Earl of *Holderness*, and now to the Earl of *Fitzwalter*.

SOFREDE, Lord of *CALIGNON*, Chancellor of *Navarre*, was born at *St. John* near *Voiron* in *Dauphiné*, he was a Man of such great Parts and so deserving, either as to his Learning, or as to his Wit, or as to his Experience in Affairs, either as to the Sweetness of his Temper or the Integrity of his Morals, that few Persons can be parallel'd with him. He adhered in his Youth to the Reformed Religion, which he professed for all his Life, without being deterred from it by the Allurements of the Court, or by the positive Promises of the greatest Preferments; for had he been willing to turn Catholick, *Henry IV.* had declared oftentimes, that he would make him Chancellor of *France*. He was at first Secretary to the King of *Navarre*, then Counsellor

(c) Thuan. lib. xxx. pag. 102. Idem lib. cxxii. p. 865.

(d) Addit. aux Memoires de Casteln. Tom. 2. l. vii. c. 9. pag. 751, &c. Thuanus says that Calignon was born at *Grenoble*.

Henry IV. Counsellor, after that President in the Chamber of the Edict at *Grenoble*, and lastly, Chancellor of *Navarre*. At his Intercession the Reformed Inhabitants at *Paris* had their publick Exercise removed from *Blandy* four or five Leagues distant of *Paris* to *Charenton*, which is but two Miles or thereabout. He died in the Year 1606, after a lingering Sickness, being in the 57th Year of his Age (e).

Of James Augustus Thuanus. *JAMES AUGUSTUS THUANUS*, in French, *DE THOU*, was born at *Paris*, the 9th of *October* 1553; his Father was *Cbristophe de Thou*, first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, his Grandfather had been made PRESIDENT à MORTIER, in the same Parliament, by *Francis I.* He was not 25 Years old when he was made Counsellor Clerk in the said Parliament; about six Years after, he was made Master of the Requests; in 1586, he had the Reversion of the Place of President à Mortier, which his Uncle enjoyed then; the next Year he married *Mary of Barbanson*, Daughter to *Francis of Barbanson-Cary*, and of *Antonia of Vasseres*, a very rich and noble Heiress; that excellent Lady died in 1601, without leaving any Child, for which Cause, two Years after he married *Gasparda of La Châtre*, youngest Daughter to *Gaspard of La Châtre*, Count of *Nancey*, Knight of the King's Orders, and Captain of his Guards: he died in 1576, of the Wounds he had received at *Dreux*, about fifteen Years before, which opened itself again this Year thro' a too hard Riding, she was first Cousin to the Marshal of *La Châtre*; she died in *July* 1616, leaving behind her six Children, three Sons and three Daughters, and

2

(e) Thuan. lib. cxxxvi. pag. 1246. Tessier Elog. des hommes savans Tom. 2. pag. 376. Edit. of Utrecht, 1696.

a tender Husband in a disconsolate Condition, Henry IV. who out-lived her only ten Months or there-^{1598.} about, for he died in *May* following, of a Schir-
 rus in his Stomach, which caused to him the bit-
 terest Pains for almost a year together. I shall
 say nothing about the Character of that truly
 great Man, his Works, and especially the History
 of his own Times, which proclaims him one of
 the greatest Politicians, the learnedest, the sen-
 siblest, the most upright and the best Man that
 ever was in the World speak for him. His Im-
 partiality and strict Adherence to the Truth
 without any respect for Persons, drew upon
 him the Hatred and Persecutions of those,
 whom his own Probity and the Rules of Hi-
 story did not allow him to regard; the wicked
 Arts of the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* were
 so well disclosed, the Characters of several *Popes*,
 and of *Philip II.* was so well drawn to the
 Life, that these two Courts, especially the first,
 was very eager to show forth its Resentment.
 Tho' the King had a great Value for him,
 nevertheless he gave him over to the revengeful
 Spirit of *Rome*; that History was condemned
 on the 9th of *November* 1609, as a pernicious
 Book, the reading whereof was forbidden to all
 the Faithful in what Language soever. He was
 upbraided above all for having been one of the
 chief Managers of the Edict of *Nantz*, and
 having approved of it, as well as for having
 asserted the Rights of the Kingdom with a Li-
 berty ill-relished by the *Italian* Divines. In the
 Year 1640, the same History was condemned
 by the Inquisition of *Spain*; and several Pas-
 sages thereof were inserted into the *Index expur-*
gatorius, printed at *Madrid* in 1667. Tho'
 King *James I.* of *England* received it very
 kindly, and read with a great deal of Pleasure
 the

Henry IV.
 1598.
 Pope Cl-
 ment VIII

Henry IV. first Volume; nevertheless, when he came to
 1598. the Affairs of Scotland, the Character the Au-
 Pope Cle- thor gave of Queen Mary, and of Queen Eli-
 ment VIII zabeth, provoked his Majesty, he desired that
 he would alter that Part of his History after his
 own way: But *Thuanus* knowing perfectly well
 his Duty in the Capacity of an Historian, re-
 fused to comply with King *James's* Desire, and
 chose to offend his MAJESTY rather than
 TRUTH. His own Country was very little
 less unjust, unto him, than the Foreigners;
 whereas he had spoken freely his Mind con-
 cerning the *League* and the *Leaguers*, *Villeroi*,
 who had sided with them, and the other Mi-
 nisters of *Mary of Medicis*, put upon him the
 deadliest Affront that a Man of his Character
 could receive, for tho' he had agreed for the
 Charge of first President with *De Harlay* his
 Brother-in-Law, tho' he had so good Title to
 that Charge, nevertheless the Court put him
 aside, and gave it to *De Verdun*, then first Pre-
 sident at *Tboulouse*. Thenceforward he con-
 tinued his History, which he had interrupted
 for six Years together, and brought it down
 to the Year 1607, which is all that we have of
 that great Man upon History besides his own
 Memoirs. It seems that he had a mind to
 bring it down to the Death of *Henry IV.* but
 very likely he was hindered by his late painful
 and lingering Sickness, and at last Death put
 an end to his laborious Life, which had wholly
 been employed in the Service of his Princes,
 Country, and the Publick. The hard Fate of
 his eldest Son, who was beheaded at *Lyons*,
 for having not revealed a Plot contrived against
 Cardinal *De Richelieu*, tho' he was neither Ac-
 complice nor Approver, proclaims loudly the
 cruel Temper of that Minister, the Weakness
 of his Master, and the Wickedness of these
 Times.

MAXIMILIAN of **BETHUNE**, Ba-^{Henry IV.}
 ron of **ROSNY** and created Duke of **SULLY** ^{1598.}
 by **HENRY IV.** was born in the Year 1561, ^{Pope Cle-}
 of a most noble and ancient Family. His Pa-^{ment VIII}
 rents adhered to the Reformed Religion, and ^{Of the}
 brought up their Son in the same; in 1572, he ^{Duke of}
 entered Page to the Prince of *Navarre*. He ^{Sully.}
 gained the Confidence of his Master by his
 Complaisance for him: (*Which increased pro-*
portionably to the Probabilities of his succeeding
to the Crown of FRANCE, and was carried
to the highest Pitch after the Surrender of
PARIS;) together with his other good Qua-
 lifications, and was advanced by degrees to the
 Places of the greatest Trust; being made Sur-
 Intendant of the *Exchequer*, Great-Master of
 the *Artillery*, Governor of the *Bastile*, Gover-
 nor of *Poitou*, created Duke of *Sully* in 1606,
 and when he was 73 Years old, he was made
 Marshal of *France* by *Lewis XIII.* in the Year
 1634. He died seven Years after. As to his
 Character; in general we may say, that very
 few can be paralleled with him, as to his civil
 and political Virtues, he was every way quali-
 fied for his Employments, and indeed he was
 a Man of great Order, careful, saving, strict
 to his Word, averse from all Extravagancy ei-
 ther in Gaming, or Feasting, or Building or
 Furniture, &c. &c. Furthermore, he was vi-
 gilant, laborious, diligent in dispatching Busi-
 ness, giving up almost all his time to his Office,
 and but very little to his Diversions. Besides that,
 he was endowed with a quick and very clear
 Understanding, and unravelled admirably well
 the Windings and Knots wherewith the Finan-
 ciers are used to perplex their Accounts, and to
 cover their Extortions, when they have a mind
 to rob the Publick; he was thoroughly ac-
 quainted

Henry IV. acquainted with all the Revenues of the Kingdom, and the Expences necessary to be done; ^{1598.} he acquainted the King thereof, but his Majesty wanted not such an Information, for he knew so well every thing of this Nature, that it was impossible to lay out a hundred Crowns, but he knew whether it was right or wrong. In a word, he discharged his Duty in that Post, with such a Fidelity and Exactness, that, tho' he got a very great Fortune, his Enemies have been obliged to own that he had got it but by lawful, fair and honourable Means. He discharged the King's Debts which were immense; he eased the People from Taxes, and filled up the King's Coffers with several Millions of Livres; he was no less industrious and diligent in the Discharge of his Duty, as Great-Master of the Artillery, and the Kingdom had never been before in so good Condition in that respect, as it was during his Administration. These excellent Qualifications, conjointly with his exceeding Complaisance for the King, endeared him to his Majesty, who took a particular Care of his Advancement; and raised him as high as he could. As to his Religion, he had been brought up in the Reformed, but was never over-scrupulous; by his Father's Orders, he turned Catholick after the Massacre in 1572, then he recanted again in 1576, when the King of *Navarre* made his Escape; he was the Man who advised the King (f) to turn Catholick, in order to enjoy peaceably his Inheritance; he had a hand in the drawing up of the Form of the King's Abjuration (g); and he was employed by his Majesty, under-hand in 1599, for procuring the Retormation of some Articles of the Edict, and for abridging of several Con-

cessions

(f) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. I. ch. 37, 38. (g) *Ch.* 40.

cessions which had been granted at *Nantz* (b). Henry IV. In a word, he is charged by most of the Re-^{1598.}formed Writers with such a Coldness for his ^{Pope Cle- ment VIII} Religion, that they insinuate plainly enough, that had the Profession thereof put an Obstacle to his Advancement, he would not have scrupled to renounce it, so that, during the Reign of *Henry IV.* he was much suspected by the whole Party, who mistrusted him. But in his old Age and some Years before his Death, he was reclaimed from that Indifference as to his Religion, by a young Clergyman, his Chaplain, and shewed thenceforward a greater Devotion, assisting at his Chapel with more Decency and Respect than he had done heretofore (j.) As to his Temper, he was very proud and haughty, respecting no body, and caring not how they would take his Rudeness, whereof the King himself had a good Specimen, at a time when *Rosni* thought little, that his Majesty would ever inherit the Crown of *France*, and consequently when he expected very little Advancement from him (i). He was envious against all those whose bright Parts could eclipse his own, and did his endeavours to keep them out of his Way as much as he could; he had a great hand in the Disgrace of the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Tremouille*, of *Du Plessis Mor-nay*, and several others; his Envy and Resentment went so far, that he spared not *Calumny*, whenever that would serve his Turn, as I have said above in the Case of *Du Plessis*; and he behaved himself in such a manner during his Prosperity, that very few pitied him when he was divested of his Charges of Sur-Intendant, Governor of the *Bastille*, and Great-Master of the

(b) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. I. ch. 89. (j) *Benoit*
Tom. II. liv. x. (i) *Ibid.* Tom. I. ch. 13.

Henry IV. the Artillery. If in his publick Capacity he was a great Man of State, if he gave several Proofs of a great Courage and good Conduct in many Occasions when he had any Command in the Army, as indeed it cannot be denied without Injustice, his private Behaviour as Baron of *Rosni*, and Duke of *Sully*, reflects indeed a Blemish upon his Character. His Memoirs, written either by himself, or by his Secretaries, as it is pretended in the Title, 4 Vol. folio, contain many Events, Transactions and Passages worthy the Curiosity of the Reader; tho' at the same time they are full of Instances of his Self-conceitedness, and one may say of him, what has been said of the Marshal of *Montluc's* Memoirs, PLURA FICIT, MULTA SCRIPSIT, that he had written of himself more than he had done.

As to the Managers of the Edict on the Reformed Side, no Doubt but every Deputy of the Churches had a hand in it more or less, but *Du Plessis*, the Duke of *La Tremouille*, *D'Aubigné*, and the Revd. Mr. *Chamier* may be considered as the Chief. Of *Du Plessis*, I have already spoken in my former Volume, it remains to say something of the three others.

CLAUDIUS of *LA TREMOUILLE*, Duke of *THOUARS*, was the Head of the Nobility in *Poitou*, where he had a very great Estate; his Riches, personal Merit, and great Alliances rendered him, with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the most considerable amongst the Reformed; he was born a Catholick, and his Father had been one of the greatest Persecutors, and one of the hottest Leaguers having made himself their Chief in *Poitou*. As to *Claudius*, being sensible of the Wrong done to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and

Of the
Duke of
La Tre-
mouille.

and the whole Reformed Party, he offered his Assistance to the Prince, and joined him with a numerous Attendance of Nobility in the Year 1585, tho' he was then very young, as being born in the Year 1570: A little after he turned Reformed, and the Prince married his Sister. He was a Lord of the brightest Parts, and one of the main Supports of the Reformed; his Sincerity and Stedfastness to that Party was such, that he could not be prevailed upon to recede the least in the world, from what he thought to be their true Interest; his Inflexibility was such, that he incurred the King's Displeasure for it, but he gained the Esteem and Confidence of his own Party. The Court endeavoured all possible Ways for engaging him to forsake the Common Cause, for that end, President *Thuanus* was ordered to offer him the greatest Advantages; but he told him generously, *Whatsoever you could do for me would avail nothing, as long as the just Requests of the Reformed remain unanswered; but, says he, grant them Security of their Consciences and of their Lives, and then hang me up at the Gate of the Assembly, and be sure that no Disturbance will ensue.* They endeavoured likewise to stir him up with Emulation and Jealousy, when the Duke of *Bouillon* came to the Assembly, where *La Tremouille*, being much younger, gave him the first place, that he had held for two Years together; but he was not at all concerned for that Punctilio of Honour, which would have shaken a Soul less noble and generous than his, he yielded the Precedency, even without being asked, and consequently without regret. He had been Tutor and Governor of his Nephew the young Prince of *Condé*, who was for several Years the pre-

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

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Henry IV. sumptive Heir to the Crown, (*Henry IV.*
^{1598.} *Pope Cle-* having no lawful Child, and being irrecon-
ment VIII cileable with his Consort *Margaret of Valois*);
 and that Quality made him more respected
 by the Reformed. He was strictly united with
 the Duke of *Bouillon*, especially when they
 had married the two Sisters of *Maurice* Prince
 of *Orange*. He was very valiant and coura-
 geous, stedfast, open-hearted, resolute, gene-
 rous, an Enemy to Oppression, a great Stick-
 ler for Liberty, and consequently, obnoxious
 to the Persecutions of the King's base Flat-
 terers, who begun to struggle for raising the
 royal Prerogative over and above the Pri-
 vileges of their Fellow-Subjects. And indeed,
 tho' he persevered to the last in the Bounds of
 his Allegiance, nevertheless, his Freedom of
 Speech was misrepresented to the King, by
 some envious Men, who prevailed so far with
 his Majesty, that dreading the Duke's great
 Credit, he had a mind to prevent him. It is
 what *Thuanus* insinuates very plainly, when he
 says, *Ad hæc Dicax & in loquendo Liberior, nec*
deerant qui dicta ab eo sequiùs interpretarentur,
& ad Regem malignè deferrent, qui magna se per
ejus mortem anxietate liberatum gavisus est;
nam Princeps, alioqui à fundendo sanguine alie-
nus, & post Bironi supplicium omnem severitatem
exosus, cum tamen Contumelias ab homine in viso
illatas negligere non posset, ægrè sibi ultiones ne-
cessitatem impositam dolebat. Then he adds,
Creditumque est à multis, fato Gentis illustrissime
contigisse, ut ipse præmaturè è vivis excederet, nè
qui in tantam Regis Indignationem, SEU VERIS,
SEU FALSIS Delationibus inciderat, in manus
ejus incideret, & indigno suorum gloriâ exitu
decus avitum obscuraret. He died in *October*
 1604, having just begun the 35th Year of his
 Age.

Age. Some have pretended that he was poisoned, and have charged *Rosni* with it, because having supped with him at his House he fell instantly into Convulsion-Fits, whereof he languished for three Months, and when he seemed to be in a mending way, he was seized again with the same and died. But *Thuanus* tells us positively that he died with the Gout, whereby he was brought to Skin and Bones; he left one Son after him, Heir of his Titles and Estate, but not of his Virtues (*k*).

THEODORUS AGRIPPA, Lord of *Aubigne*, Son of *John D' Aubigné*, Lord of *Brié* in *Xaintonge*, Chancellor to *Jane* Queen of *Navarre*, &c. &c. and of Lady *Catherine de Lestang*, was born at *St. Maury* near *Lons* in *Xaintonge*, the 8th of *February* 1550. He was a Man very extraordinary in all his Life, whether we do consider him, either in his Childhood, or in his Youth, or in his Manhood, or in his Old Age. As to his Childhood, he tells us himself, that being but six Years old he could read *French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew*; that being but seven Years and a half, he translated the *Crito* of *Plato*; that a Year after his Father brought him to *Paris*, and put him under the Care of *Matibow Beroalde*, a very learned Man, Nephew to the renowned *Vatable*; that a few Years after, the Prince of *Condé* having seized upon *Orleans*, and the Persecution raging against the Reformed, he and his Preceptor *Beroalde*, with his Family made their Escape out of *Paris*, but were arrested upon the Road by a Party commanded by the Chevalier *D' Achon*, who delivered them into the Hands of one *Democharés*, a cruel Inquisitor, who condemned

X 2

them

(*k*) *Thuanus*, lib. lxxvii, p. 131. *Benoit*, Tom. 1, Liv. I. III. V. IX.

Henry IV. them all to be burnt ; that they were miracu-
 1598. lously, as one may say, delivered, by *Acbon*
Pope Cle- himself, the Eve of their Execution. He says,
ment VIII that on that Occasion he never cried, save only
 when they took from him a little Sword which
 he had by his Side ; and that being told that
 he and his Company would be burnt the next
 Day, if they did not instantly recant, he
 answered, *That the Dread he had for the Mass,*
was greater than what he had for Fire. That
 about five Weeks after being arrived at *Or-*
leans, where his Father was, he was seized with
 the Plague that raged in that City ; during
 which, his Father made a Journey into *Gui-*
enne ; that at his Return, he found him per-
 fectly well recovered as to his Health, but a
 little given up to Debauchery, for which having
 been punished, he was forgiven, but he re-
 lapsed during the Siege. His Father being dead
 at *Amboise* a few Months after the first Peace,
D'Aubigné continued his Studies under *Beroalde*
 for a Year longer ; and being thirteen Years
 old, his Tutor sent him to the Academy at
Geneva ; that being too severely handled by
 his Masters there, he ran away two Years after,
 and went to *Lyons*, where he was reduced to
 great Straits for want of Money. At the Be-
 ginning of the second Civil War, he went back
 into *Xaintonge* to his Tutor's House, and ob-
 stinately refusing to go on with his Studies,
 shewing a very strong Inclination for following
 the Profession of Arms, his said Tutor thought
 himself in Duty bound to reclaim him, if it
 was possible, for which end he kept him in
 Prison for a long while, and had his Clothes
 brought into his own Chamber in the Night-
 time. But all his Precautions were in vain,
 young *D'Aubigné* made his Escape : The third
 Civil

Civil War breaking out, some young Men of Henry IV. his Acquaintance promised to call for him as ^{1598.} they should pass by the House, wherein he ^{Pope Clement VIII} was; they were as good as their Word, and the Prisoner with the Help of his Bed-Sheets got down bare-foot, and having nothing else upon him but his Shirt, he followed the Company with great ado, and had Occasion one or two Days after to make proof of his undaunted Courage and Resolution. Such were the first Beginnings of the most renowned *D'Aubigné*; whereby it appears that if he gave early Proofs of his Capacity, he gave no less of an exceeding Unruliness and Stubbornness which influenced his Actions for the three first Parts of his Life. He was extremely violent and cruel in his Youth, as he himself confess'd in the History of his Life, written by himself, and he tells us further, that had it not been for the vast quantity of Blood that he lost in a Quarrel which a Gentleman had picked with him, when he was about 22 Years old, he could not have lived long, nor reformed his Manners, for the great Petulancy and Fierceness of his Temper. He entered as Esquire of the King of *Navarre* in 1574, while his Majesty was Prisoner at Court; but his Rudeness and Roughness put an Obstacle to his Advancement, at least to such a one as his Services, his great Courage and other good Qualifications entitled him to. He was very zealous for his Religion, and what he says upon that Subject is very remarkable. When his Father brought him first to *Paris*, they took their Way through *Amboise*, and observing upon a Gibbet, the Heads of several Gentlemen of his Acquaintance which had been lately executed for the *Amboisian Plot*, he told his Son, *My Son,*

Henry IV. *thou must never spare thine Head, after mine,*
 1598. *for revenging those most honourable Chiefs; if*
 Pope Cle- *thou dost otherwise, I do curse thee.* He was
 then VIII made Governor of *Maillezais*, in 1588. He
 was very free with the King, which Freedom
 exceeding the due Bounds, exposed him several
 times to the Resentment of his Master.
 The Reformed Churches of *Poitou*, thoroughly
 acquainted with the Firmness of his Soul, his
 Capacity, and his Incorruptibility, chose him
 for one of their Deputies to the Assembly
 above-mentioned, and the said Assembly named
 him to be one of the four, to whom the digesting
 of the Edict was committed. At last,
 having fallen into Disgrace with the Court,
 who had given Orders to arrest him wherever
 he could be found, he retired to *Geneva*,
 in 1620, where he died the 29th of *April*
 1630, being eighty Years old. The Lady of
Maintenon, so much renowned in the Reign of
Lewis XIV. was his Grand-Daughter. He
 wrote an Universal History of his own Times;
 the Memoirs of his Life; the Adventures of
Baron De Fœnesté; and the Confession of *Sanci*,
 and some others. The first, the third, and the
 last were published in his own Time, and his
 History occasioned his Disgrace. As to the
 Memoirs of his Life, they have been published
 since his Death (1).

Of the Revd. Mr. DANIEL CHAMIER
 Revd. Mr. was born at *Montelimar* in *Dauphiné*, and was
 Chamier. for a long time Minister of that Place; I refer
 the Reader to what I say of that Learned Man,
 under the Year 1621, when he was killed at
 the Siege of *Montauban*. And now I must
 resume

(1) See *Vie D'Aubigné écrite par luy-même*, which
 makes the first Part of the 1st Völ. *Des Aventures du*
Baron de Fœnesté.

resume the Sequel of this History, and consider Henry IV. 1598. Pope Clement VIII
 first, the Effects of that famous Treaty made
 between the King and his Reformed Subjects.

The Edict being thus decreed did not allay, CIV. How the Edict was received in the Provinces.
 all of a sudden, the general Discontents. When
 it was brought into the Provinces, many People over-nice, found that several things had
 been omitted, others ill-explained, others troublesome, which the Reformed had less reason
 to be contented with than the Catholicks. The Delay of the Verification made them very uneasy. And all the Duke of *Bouillon's* Interest, who had taken upon him to engage them to Patience, was not sufficient to silence every one. But the Court made use of several Means to bring them to that Submission which she desired. She had her Emissaries in all Places, who knew how to vary their Arguments and Remonstrances according to the Genius and Temper of those with whom they conversed. With some they put a great Value upon the King's private Promises, and remonstrated, that in his present Circumstances he could not do better for them for fear of offending the Catholicks; but that having given them his Word, they might depend upon it, that for the future, he would go even beyond their Expectation. To some others they gave to understand that the King was still of their Religion in his Heart; and indeed, tho' all his outward Appearances were Catholick, it is certain that at this time his secret Devotions relished still of the *Reformed*, and had every day in his Mouth, when he was with his most intimate Confidants, those Passages of Scripture, especially of the *Psalms*, which the Reformed know very well how to apply to every Accident of Life. Many Reformed believed this very heartily, and pitied

Henry IV. the Fate of their Prince, who was obliged to live
 1598. under such a Restraint; and it was very easy
 Pope Cle- to win them over, and make them sit down
 ment VIII contented with the present, in a sure Expecta-
 tion of a better Condition for the future.
 With some others easy to be frightned, they
 magnified the King's great Power and happy
 Success; they represented how formidable he
 began to make himself both at home and
 abroad, being in a Condition to command Re-
 spect from Foreigners, and to force Submission
 and Obedience from his own Subjects of either
 Denomination, &c. But the most refined of
 all the Court's Artifices, was to frighten out of
 their Wits those who dared to vent their Dis-
 contents, by sending for them to Court, in
 order to account for murmuring Words, which
 they had uttered, or for the violent Counsels
 they had given, and then to lull them with
 a thousand Caresses, instead of treating them
 with Severity; and after having loaded them
 with fair Promises, to send them home some-
 what tamed and mollify'd, ready to believe
 themselves, and to persuade others, that the
 best Course they could take, was to comply
 with the King's Pleasure.

GV. In the mean time, the fifteenth National
 Synod was held at *Montpelier*, the 26th of
 The fif- May; The Reverend Mr. *Berault*, Minister of
 teenth na- *Montauban* was chosen Moderator. Their
 tional Sy- principal Business was to draw up a State of
 nod. the Churches; they examined how many there
 were in every Province, and having cast up
 the Number, they amounted in all to seven
 hundred and sixty. But then it is to be ob-
 served, 1^o. That in that Number were reckon-
 ed only those of an old standing, and not
 those which were to be settled according to
 the

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 313

the Edict for having had divine Service performed in the Places where they were situated in 1596, and to the Month of *August* inclusive in 1597, because they were not settled as yet. 2^o. The Churches which had been dispersed during the Wars, were not comprehended in that Number, because they were not as yet restored. 3^o. That many of these Churches named in the List, had one or more other Churches annexed to them, which went under the Name of the principal Place where the Minister resided. To return to the Synod, they made the first Distribution of the Money granted by the King's Warrant for the Support of the Ministry, and there was a Division of a hundred and thirty thousand Livres among the Provinces.

Then they considered what could have obliged the General Assembly of *Chateleraud* to depart so freely from the Pretensions of the Churches whereof they were the Representatives, to content themselves with an Edict such as they had obtained: No better Reason could be found out, but the Disunion and Misunderstanding amongst the Members. But it was more easy to declaim against the Disease than to cure it; therefore they resolved only, that for the future, the Union subscribed and sworn at *Mantes*, should be better and more strictly kept and observed than ever, that so the Articles of this Edict might be performed, and all other things necessary for their Preservation, under their Obedience to his Majesty, and to his Edicts.

Then they took Cognizance of certain Schemes for re-uniting the Reformed with the *Roman* Catholics. Many Busy-Bodies there were at that time amongst the Reformed, and amongst

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. amongst the Catholicks, who out of private
 1598. Views, went about to persuade the World that
 Pope Cle- the Difference between the two Religions were
 ment VIII not so wide or essential that they should be irre-
 conciliable : Several Books and Pamphlets had
 been published upon that Subject, whereat the
 Churches of *Geneva*, *Berne*, *Basil*, and of the
Palatinate took Offence, and wrote to the pre-
 sent Synod, who having taken the Matter un-
 der their Consideration, they passed Sentence
 against such Books and Pamphlets, as contain-
 ing several erroneous Propositions.

They likewise took Cognizance of the in-
 tended Marriage of MADAME, Sister to the
 King, with the Prince of *LORRAIN*, at the
 Request of the said Princess, and declared it ut-
 terly unlawful, because the Prince was a Catho-
 lick, and the Princess a Reformed, and that it
 should not be permitted in any of their
 Churches, and all Ministers were enjoined
 carefully to observe this Article on pain of
 being suspended, or even deposed. I shall
 speak presently of this Marriage,

They next debated upon the erecting and
 settling two Universities, one at *Saumur*, and
 the other at *Montauban*, and two Colleges of
 Divinity, one at *Nimes*, the other at *Montpe-
 lier* ; and for the Maintenance of these Settle-
 ments they appropriated the third Part of the
 Money granted by the King's Warrant for
 the Support of the Churches.

Another Affair, which they took under their
 Consideration, was the Lord of *Lesdiguieres'*
 Conduct. The Province of *Languedoc* had
 raised a Sum of 17,760 Crowns, which they
 had sent to *Geneva*, to be laid up in Stock for
 the Maintenance of their Students in Divinity ;
Lesdiguieres, who, at this time, minded nothing
 so

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 315

So much as to heap up Riches, seized upon this Sum, under pretence that it had been raised contrary to Law, and without the King's Licence: And, that he might have some specious Title to detain it, he had procured his Majesty's Grant of that Sum; notwithstanding which, this present Synod judged that Appropriation unjust and unlawful, and ordered that Remonstrances should be made to *Lesdiguieres* upon the Heinousness of such a Proceeding of his, and that he was bound in Honour and Conscience to restore the said Sum, and to see it laid out according to its primitive Intention. They decreed further, that if he refused to yield to Reason, he should be sued at Law in the Chamber of *Castres*. But tho' Commissaries were sent unto him upon that Subject, who endeavoured to touch his Conscience, he was insensible: So that after many Years, and several Importunities, they had much ado to get him to restore some Part. By this it may be judg'd, that if he persevered in the Reformed Religion for several Years longer, it was not out of Principle of Conscience, but out of Self-Interest?— But more of him in another Place.

Then the Synod having approved the Acts passed in the Assembly of *Cbatelberaud*, ended their Sessions in *June (m)*.

The Treaty between the two Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, was on foot, since the Beginning of 1597; the taking of *Amiens* had interrupted it, but that City having been retaken, *Villeroy* on the King's side, and *John Richardot* on the Archduke's, and consequently on King *Philip's*, had an Interview together upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* and *Artois*, and agreed

Henry IV.
1598.
Pope Clement VIII.

Peace of
Vervins.

(m) Quick Synodicon, Aymon Synodes Nationaux.

Henry IV. agreed that the two Kings should send their
 1598. Plenipotentiaries to *Vervins*, where the Pope's
 Pope Cle- Legate was to assist in quality of Mediator.
 ment VIII

The two Kings were equally desirous of a Peace, *Henry* because he was tired with the War, and was afraid lest by some unlucky Turn he should lose the Fruit of his past Labours; and *Philip* sensible of his dying Condition, and of the Weakness of the Prince his Son and Successor, was unwilling to leave his Kingdom embroiled in a War with such a Prince as *Henry* was. Such being the real Dispositions of the two Tenants, their Ministers proceeded with a greater Sincerity and Diligence than usual. *Pomponne de Believre*, and *Nicolas Bruslard de Sillery*, were named Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and the Arch-Duke being empowered by the King of *Spain*, named *John Richardot*, President of the Catholic King's Council in the *Low-Countries*, *John Baptist Tassis*, Knight of *St. James*, and Auditor *Lewis Vereiken*, first Secretary and Treasurer of the Council of State.

They met together at *Vervins*, in *February* 1598, and after some Debates about the Ceremonial, and other Points concerning the Allies of the two Crowns; they signed the Treaty on the 2d of *May*, and put it into the hands of the Legate, desiring him to keep it secret, till the two Months of Cessation of Arms granted to the Allies of the Crown of *France*, should be expired. During that Negotiation, Queen *Elizabeth*, and the States of *Holland*, had sent their Embassadors to the King, to persuade his Majesty to continue the War, they met the Court at *Angers*, and followed it to *Nantz*; but notwithstanding all their Instances, Intreaties and Offers, *Henry* could not

be

be deterred from his Resolution; and indeed Henry IV. after so long and cruel a War, whereby the Kingdom had been brought upon the Brink of its Ruin, was it reasonable to require that the King should reject the honourable Terms proposed unto him, that he should miss a fair Opportunity for restoring the Realm into its former Splendour? Therefore it was agreed only that his Majesty should pay to the *States of Holland* at different times stipulated, the large Sums of Money for which he was indebted to the Queen of *England*, for helping the said *States* to carry on the War against *Spain*; besides what the said King owed to the States, which he promised to pay in the same Manner: Furthermore, he promised not to ratify the Treaty, till forty Days after it had been signed by the Plenipotentiaries. So on the 12th of *June*, the Peace was proclaimed, and on the 21st, it was sworn by the King at *Paris*, in our *Lady's Church*. It was sworn likewise at *Bruxelles* by the *Arch-Duke*, the 26th of the same Month. And by the Duke of *Savoy*, at *Chambery*, the 2d of *August*. It had been agreed in the Conference at *Ver-vins*, ' That, as to the Differences which ' subsisted between the King and that Prince, ' concerning the Marquisate of *Saluces*, which ' the said Duke had usurped in 1588, the Pope ' should be the only Judge of these Differen- ' ces; That his Holiness should decide them ' in a Year; That if he chanced to die be- ' fore that time, after his Death there would ' be a Truce for three Months, during which ' the two Parties should agree upon other Um- ' pires; That without any further Delay, the ' Duke should restore to the King the Town ' of *Berre* in *Provence*; and disown the At-

1598.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

tempt

Henry IV. 'tempt of Captain *La Fortune*, who had seized
 1598. ' *Seure* in *Burgundy*; that the Duke should
 Pope Cle- ' observe an exact Neutrality between the two
 ment VIII ' Kings of *France* and *Spain*.' King *Philip* II.
 signed the Treaty of *Vervins*, but his Death
 prevented him from swearing upon it. So
 Peace was settled at home and abroad, at
 least for some time, through the Constancy,
 Courage, and Prudence of *HENRY THE*
GREAT.

CVII. King *Philip* II. did not long enjoy the
 King Phi- Sweetness of Peace, for he died at the *Escurial*,
 lip's the 13th of *September*, being 72 Years old,
 Death. whereof he had reigned 42 Years and nine
 Months since the Abdication of his Father
Charles V. For above 15 Months before, he
 had been seized with an hectic Fever, which
 wasted him; when he was seized with a violent
 Fit of the Gout, on St. *John's* Eve, the Acrim-
 ony of the Humours produced Abscesses, which
 broke out first at the Knee, then at several Pla-
 ces of his Body, from whence a Swarm of Lice
 issued out, which could not be drained, with
 several other Diseases. The purulent Matter
 issuing from his Ulcers, exhaled such a Stink,
 that the Servants which attended him were in-
 fected by it, he was insupportable to himself,
 and he died amidst the bitterest Pains. Such was
 the lamentable End of a Prince, which may be
 set up as a Pattern of the most boundless Am-
 bition, for gratifying which, he not only
 spared no Cost, but was guilty of the blackest
 of Crimes, Perfidiousness, Perjury, Treason;
 Poisoning, Murdering, &c. But let us hear him
 himself, speaking to his Son in the last Days
 of his Life: 'Abusing of my Prosperity, says
 ' *he*, I soon forgot the wise and wholesome
 ' Instructions of the Emperor my Father, and
 ' gave

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* § 3.

gave way to all the extravagant Projects of Henry IV. an unbridled Ambition, . . . and now I am ^{1598.} obliged to own, forced to it by the Truth of ^{Pope Clement VIII} things, and the Success thereof far different from what I expected: That after having coveted the Empire possessed by my Uncle *Ferdinand*, endeavoured by several Cabals and under-hand Dealings, to force him to name me King of the *Romans*, instead of his own Son *Maximilian*; aspired to be declared Emperor of the *New-World*, to usurp *Italy*, to subdue my rebellious Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, to get the Crown of *Ireland*, to invade *England* by the Means of that great and formidable *Armada*, in fitting out of which, I was about six Years, and laid out above TWENTY MILLIONS OF DUCATS; to do the same with the Kingdom of *France*, by the Means of the secret Intelligences (which I bought very dear) which I did keep with the highest and most ambitious Spirits of that Kingdom, on pretence of the then reigning King's Laziness, and of the Civil Wars of Religion, which I had kindled and took care to foment by the Means of Clergymen my Pensioners, and after having spent in the Execution of these Schemes 32 Years of my Life, and above SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DUCATS, in extraordinary Expences, the Account whereof you will find amongst my secret Papers written with my own Hand; after having occasioned the Murder and Death of above *twenty Millions* of People, of all Ranks, Sex, and Age, the Destruction and Depopulation of many more Provinces, and of a larger Extent of Land, than I do possess in *Europe*, all what I have got after so many Labours, is no more than
the

Henry IV. 'the small Kingdom of *Portugal*, &c (n).' This
 1598. don't require any Commentary, *habemus reum*
 Pope Cle. *confitentem*; and now let the Wit, Sagacity,
 ment VII Prudence, and Religion of that Prince be
 extolled to the Skies, as he made all these
 Qualifications subservient only to the Execu-
 tion of his wicked and pernicious Designs, they
 cannot be considered but as so many Swords in
 the Hands of a Madman; his Religion was
 but Hypocrisy, his Constancy in his last Sick-
 ness was but a Hard-heartedness against the
 heaviest Judgments of God. He was short of
 Stature, his Limbs were well compacted, of
 a grave Countenance and Mien, his Hair yel-
 lowish, of a strong and healthy Constitution.
 He was succeeded by his Son *Philip* III. who
 was in the twentieth Year of his Age.

It was in this Year that *Du Plessis* published
 his Book about Mass, whereof I shall speak
 under the Year 1600.

1599. One of the sixteen Conditions imposed by
 CVIII. the Pope upon the King, when he received
 the Absolution, was, that he should engage
 the Princess his Sister to turn Catholick, and
 to marry her with a Catholick Prince. Ac-
 cordingly his Majesty endeavoured to per-
 suade his Sister to follow his Example; but his
 Attempts proved fruitless, no Temptation was
 strong enough to prevail over the Constancy
 of the Princess, she was stedfast in her Religion.
 It was more easy for him to gain the other
 Point; her Royal Highness thought it a Duty
 incumbent on her, to yield to the King's De-
 sire, to overcome her Scruples and receive
Henry,

1599.
 CVIII.
Marriage
of Madame
Sister to
the King.

(n) *Memoires De Sully*, Tom. I. pag. 420. 21, &c.
Thuan. L.b. cxx. pag. 791, &c. *D'Aubigné Hist. Uni-*
verselle, Tom. III. Liv. V. ch. 18. These two last allow
 him but 40 Years of Reign, and *D'Aubigné*, but 60 Years
 of Age.

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 321

Henry, Duke of *Bar*, Son to *Charles*, Duke of *Henry IV.*
Lorain, for her Husband. There were two Years ^{1599.}
 gone since that Treaty was on foot; the *Pope's* ^{*Pope Cle-*}
 stiffness, who absolutely refused a Licence, oc- ^{*ment VIII*}
 casioned that long Delay; all the Archbishops
 and Bishops in *France*, declined to perform the
 Ceremony, dreading the *Pope's* Censures. At
 last *Roquelaure*, by his Jeerings and Jestings
 prevailed so far with the Archbishop of *Rouën*,
 formerly Bishop of *Leytoure*, who was the
 King's Natural Brother; that he consented to
 do the Ceremony, which was performed in
 the King's Closet on the last Day of *January*,
 without waiting for the *Pope's* Licence. As
 soon as the Ceremony of giving and receiving
 the Ring was over, the Duke went one way
 to hear Mass, and the Princess another to hear
 a Sermon. She had for her Dowry 60,000
Livres yearly Pension, 300,000 Crowns once
 paid; and all the Rings and Jewels belonging
 to the House of *Albret*. After the six first
 Months were over, she had much to suffer
 from her Husband, on account of her Religion;
 for that Prince being gone to *Rome*, in order
 to get, what they call the Pardons or In-
 dulgences, in the next Jubilee-Year, the *Pope*
 would not admit him to any publick Audience;
 nor suffer him to assist at any publick Cere-
 mony; but granted him Absolution in private;
 and upon Condition that he should divorce his
 Consort if she persisted in her Religion; so that
 at his Return, she lived separately for about
 two Years. She was near forty Years old, when
 she was married, and had been sued for by
 several great Princes, such as *James* King of
Scotland, who succeeded to *Elizabeth*; the
 Duke of *Savoy*; and some others, besides the
 Count of *Soissons*, for whom she had a strong

Henry IV. Inclination, and the Duke of *Montpensier*; but more of that Princess when I shall relate her Death (o).

1599.
Pope Clement VIII

CIX. While the Court was in their Mirth and Diversions, occasioned by that and three other Marriages, of the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *D'Aiguillon*, Son to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and *Nevers*, the King was bent to have his Edict of *Nantz* verified and registered in the Parliament of *Paris*.

The Edict of Nantz, &c. registered in Parliament.

The Catholicks taking advantage of the Delay of that Verification; endeavoured to subvert it, if they could, or at least to abridge the Concessions granted at *Nantz*. It was attacked by all the Orders of the Kingdom, both before and after the *Legate's* Departure. The *Clergy*, the *Parliaments*, the *University*, the *Sorbonne*, started all the Difficulties imaginable. The *Sorbonne* refused to consent that the Reformed should take their Degrees amongst them. The *University* would not receive them in their Colleges, nor admit them either to be Masters of Arts, or Professors, or Regents in any Faculty. But the greatest Oppositions came from the *Clergy*. They had been assembled at *Paris* since *May* last, and made very heavy Complaints by their Deputies to the King; about the Pensions assigned to the Laity upon Benefices, and to the Payment whereof the Incumbents were obliged, either by Writ of Nomination, or by some secret Reservation. The Reformed had a Share in these Favours as well as others, as also in the Trusts; and the *Clergy* aimed especially at them; under a Pretence which was plausible enough; for it seemed unreasonable that the Hereticks, Enemies to the

Ca-

(o) Thuan. Lib. cxx. pag. 787. *Memoires de Sally*, Tom. I. ch. 88.

Catholick Church should enjoy the Revenues of her Altars. The King consented to one Part of their Demands, but as to the rest, he told them, *That he would act in such a manner, by God's Assistance, that the Church should be in as good a Condition, as it had been a hundred Years before, as well for the Discharge of his Conscience as for their own Satisfaction; but, says he, PARIS was not built in a Day.* Henry IV. 1599. Pope Clement VIII

The Reformed took very little Notice of these Words, taking them only for a Compliment: But the Catholicks being puffed up by them, took Advantage of it, to make some Attempts to alter the Edict. They demanded, 1°. That in the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, the Reformed should content themselves with having the free Exercise of their Religion in such Places whereof they had made themselves Masters during the War; whereby they would deprive them of the new Possessions granted by the Edict. 2°. That the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion should be restored in those Places where the Reformed were the most powerful, even in their Strong-Holds. 3°. That the Catholicks should be discharged from paying for the Maintenance of the Ministers in those Places held by the Reformed; they made several other Demands, no more, and even less reasonable than these. But they most warmly insisted against the Liberty granted them to hold Synods when they pleased, without being obliged to any Acknowledgement of Dependency, to admit Foreigners, and to send Deputies of their own to Assemblies of like Nature without the Kingdom. *Bertier*, one of the Clergy's Deputies, was very hot upon this Point; he pretended, that such a Liberty without Restriction, gave them an Opportunity of holding a

Henry IV. Correspondence abroad with the Enemies of the State, of making Leagues, and entering into Conspiracies, and of rising in Arms whenever they pleased. He affirmed that *Schomberg*, *Tbuanus*, and even President *Jeannin*, who had concluded the Edict, were but a sort of mungrel Catholicks, meaning by that Name such as were not intoxicated with their Bigotries, and Superstitions; and, if *Sully*, or the Authors of his Memoirs are to be credited, the King upbraided them very severely for having consented to that Article. However, *Bertier* would never desist till he had obtained Assurances that the Edict should be reformed in some of these Articles. The *Parliament* supported his Demands, and set forth that greater Privileges were granted, in that respect, to the Reformed than to the Catholicks, and that the Reformed ought, at least, to beg Leave to assemble, and to admit Foreigners in their Assemblies. They opposed likewise the Erection of a mixt Chamber at *Paris*; and revived the old Query, Whether they were capable of holding any Office; and several Writings were published on both sides upon that Subject.

The General Assembly at *Chatelberaud*, that waited for the Verification of the Edict, were hard at work for preventing the Mischiefs which those Oppositions might produce, and sent frequent Deputations to Court for that purpose. The King, being desirous to bring things to pass with Mildness, was much perplexed at these Obstructions, he knew not how to get clear of these Difficulties without giving somebody an Occasion to complain, he made use of all his Prudence to bring them to Reason by all fair Means: But sometimes he spoke to them as a Master, whenever the Parliament

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 325

exceeded the Bounds of Respect; and when they proposed to make some secret Reservations, not to admit the Reformed to Offices in the inferior Courts of Justice; and nevertheless, to verify the Article whereby they were declared capable of holding them, the King told them with some Indignation; *I don't think it fair, to intend one thing and write another; and if there be any of my Predecessors who have done it, I will never do the same: Deceit is odious among all Men; more especially among Princes, whose Words ought always to be unalterable.*

At last, tho' the Reformed had much abated of their general Pretensions, by accepting the Edict such as it had been given at *Nantz*, they condescended still, to forego several other Articles, which were highly contested. Marshal of *Bouillon* gave his Consent, and *Du Pleffis* himself enjoined the Revd. Mr. *Beraud*, one of the Deputies of the Assembly, to come to an Agreement upon the Articles which were in debate: They obtained that there should be no Limitation of the Liberty as to the free Exercise, nor in the Article concerning Offices and Employments. But, at the Request of the University, the King granted that the Reformed should hold no Office in it which might authorise them to dogmatise upon Religion, and that they should be admitted into Regencies, Professorships in all other Faculties but that of Divinity. And indeed, I don't know how to blame that Resolution, tho' contrary to an Article agreed at *Nantz*. For what a greater Absurdity can be, than for a Society of Divines to admit as one of their Members, a Man who either in Faith or Wor-

Henry IV.
1599.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

Henry IV. ship, holds Opinions quite contrary to those received in the said Society of Divines?

1599.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

The King refused the Clergy only the first of the three Articles above-mentioned, and promised them Satisfaction upon the two others. He limited the Liberty of Synods, and leaving the Reformed the appointing of the Time and Place, he obliged them only to address themselves to him for Leave to assemble, and even that Obligation was considerably mitigated afterwards during his Reign. Some other Alterations were agreed upon concerning the Chambers of the Edict, and other Courts of Judicature to be erected in behalf of the Reformed. But, notwithstanding all these Condescensions, the Parliament continued to thwart the King's good Intentions, and his Majesty was obliged to send for them to the *Louvre*, where he let them know his Will and Pleasure in a very pathetick Speech, shewing forth the Necessity of granting reasonable Terms to the Reformed, in order to enjoy Peace at home, as they did abroad. ' When you see me, *says he*, coming ' to confer with you, not with a royal Attire ' and Pomp, nor with that Apparel of Princes ' when they admit Embassadors to their Audience; but in an usual Dress, in Slippers, ' and without a Sword, don't you think you see ' and hear a Father talking and conversing with ' his own Children? I, by the Will of God, ' have been the Arbitrator of War and Peace, ' I have experienced the first at my Peril, that ' I might embrace the second to your greater ' Advantage; this I don't propose unto you ' with the *Spaniards*, and others, ancient Enemies of the Kingdom, but with your own ' Countrymen, and amongst yourselves. What! ' Shall I have made Peace with the Enemies ' to

' to have War at home? Let not the Clamours
 ' of the Seditious, who separate human from
 ' divine Peace, move you; they seek only some
 ' Pretence to excuse their Factions, and to co-
 ' ver their Inclinations to foment Troubles and
 ' Confusions. We say every Day in our Pray-
 ' ers, GIVE US PEACE, O GOD, IN OUR DAYS.
 ' Religion stands by Peace, Peace strengthens
 ' the Laws, he who desires, who prefers a cruel
 ' War, is without Religion, without Justice,
 ' without Law.—The Disputes about Reli-
 ' gion are kindled by Arms, Concord and
 ' Union amongst Countrymen is requisite to
 ' extinguish them.—Those who have separa-
 ' ted from us, don't consider the Tortures
 ' and other Penalties inflicted upon them, on
 ' account of their Religion, as a Judgment of
 ' God upon them, but as an Effect of the
 ' Hatred of their Enemies. Don't you know
 ' that? What then have we improved by those
 ' dreadful Calamities of so many Years? But
 ' now I assume upon you the Right of a Father
 ' over his Children; it is the Duty of a Father
 ' to advise his Children, to re-call those who
 ' are fallen into Madness, or act imprudently,
 ' or go astray through Ignorance, and to in-
 ' struct them by wholesome Counsels.—You
 ' have found me a very lucky General during
 ' the War: Now hearken to a very prudent
 ' King in Peace, that, I beg of you, I intreat
 ' you. You are indebted to me for your For-
 ' tunes, Lives, and Dignities, I have restored
 ' them to you by my Valour and Courage. If
 ' you desire to keep them and transmit them
 ' safe to your Posterity, entertain the Peace
 ' given by me. To Prayers and Counsels, I
 ' add a Command, which Authority God Al-
 ' mighty has given me, to compel the Disobe-
 ' dient.

Henry IV.
 1599.
 Pope Cle-
 ment VIII

Henry IV. ^{1590.} *Pope Clement VIII* dient. I don't value those Preachers, nor other Trumpeters of Seditions of the same kind, resounding to the Ears of a frantick Mob. I, who have been always at the head of my Armies, in the midst of Swords and Fires; I, who so many times have exposed myself in the Sieges, with an undaunted Courage, to the Cannon-Shots, should I be frightened, either by Janglers in the Pulpits, or Brawlers in the Cross-ways, or Fences made with Hogsheds full of Earth in the Streets and publick Places? Pray don't remember that melancholy Day so shameful to the *French* Nation, wherein Royal Majesty, which had been abused before with opprobrious Language in this City, was even assaulted at last with open Force? Or, if you do remember that Day, remember at the same time, that I, who have been always invincible in all the Battles, had it been my case, I would not easily yield to an outrageous, cowardly Mob; and as to the *Barricadoes*, either I would not tamely have suffered them to be erected, or the Thing being done, I would have destroyed them instantly. . . . Then, he spoke of the good Harmony that subsisted between him and the *Pope*, and his Legate, and of the Nature of the Edict, which he willeth to have published without any farther Delay, and which he calls his own; as *Henry III.* called that of 1577, *his own Edict*. Then he goes on, 'It remains, *says he*, that what I do command, I have done after the Example of my Predecessors, what I have resolved after a mature Consultation, that you should receive and embrace as just and equitable, and that you should take the Duke of *Mayenne* for a Pattern.

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 329

‘ That Prince, formerly the Head of the League, Henry IV.
 ‘ has no sooner been received into my Favour, ^{1599.}
 ‘ but tho’ he has been strongly solicited and ^{Pope Cle-}
 ‘ intreated by the Factious and Seditious, to ^{ment VIII}
 ‘ improve the Opportunity of the present
 ‘ Edict for renewing the Troubles, he has con-
 ‘ stantly refused to consent, saying that he was
 ‘ so much beholden unto me, that he could
 ‘ not without a great Crime, defile himself
 ‘ again with fomenting Parties and Factions in
 ‘ the Kingdom, &c. And you, you whose
 ‘ Fidelity has never been fickle and wavering
 ‘ during the Wars, what becomes you to do in
 ‘ Peace? Shall you disobey now this whole-
 ‘ some Command? After having so faithfully
 ‘ obeyed me amidst the Uncertainties of
 ‘ Times and Things? If any one has any
 ‘ Scruple, if any one is still at a Stand, thro’
 ‘ fear of Danger, leave that to my Piety and
 ‘ Prudence, and be persuaded that this Edict,
 ‘ so subtly canvassed, is given, not so much
 ‘ for making sure the Peace with the Reform-
 ‘ ed, as for not being obliged to renew War
 ‘ amongst us.’

Every one was moved by the King’s Speech,
 and President *Coqueley*, tho’ formerly a most
 violent Leaguer, having spoken in the Parliam-
 ent to the same purpose, after some Debates
 it was at last resolved that the Edict should
 be verifys’d and registered with the Restrictions
 and Amendments agreed upon on both sides,
 which was accordingly done, on the 25th of
February (p).

The Edict was no sooner published, but a CX
 very odd Thing happened, which vexed the ^{A Cheat}
 King, ^{of the Cler-}
 gy.

(p) Thuan. lib. cxxii. pag. 860.—864. Mem. de Sulli,
 Tom. I. chap. lxxxix. Vie de Du Pleffis Mornay, liv. ii.
 p. 255. Hist. de l’ Edit. de Nantes, Tom. I. Liv. vi.

Henry VI. King, and occasioned a great Disturbance in
 1599. several Parts of the Kingdom. Many factious
Pope Clement VIII People, who pretended to be much offended at
 the Advantages granted to the Reformed, and
 sought but an Opportunity for renewing the
 Troubles, laid hold of this with great Eager-
 nels. *James Brosfier*, born at *Romorantin*, a
 Man of mean Extraction, who loathed to get
 his Bread by his honest Labour, chose to get
 it by rambling from one Place to another ; like
 Gipsies, he took with him his three Daughters,
Martha, Silvine, and Mary ; *MARTHA* feign-
 ed to be possessed with the Devil, they travelled
 through all the Cities and Boroughs upon the
 Banks of the *Loire*, to the great Astonishment
 of a vast Multitude of People who flocked to
 see her. The Monks of *Orleans* and *Clery*,
 being assembled to examine that Affair, in
March and *September* before, had forbidden all
 Priests of that Diocese to exorcise the pro-
 tended Demoniac on pain of Excommunica-
 tion. Being come to *Angers*, *Charles Miron*,
 Bishop of the Place, was willing to examine the
 Wench, before he should proceed to Exorcism ;
 he admitted her to his Table, and caused holy
 Water to be given to her as common Water,
 which she drank without any Motion ; then he
 sent for common Water, and told her that it
 was holy Water, whereupon she feigned to fall
 into Convulsion-Fits : Whereat the Bishop be-
 gan to suspect the Cheat, and in order to be
 fully certify'd thereof, he ordered, loudly, one
 of his Servants to fetch him the Book of Ex-
 orcism, and feigning to read therein, he uttered
 the first Verse of the *Æneis*, at the hearing
 whereof, she made most horrible Contorsions,
 just as if the Devil tormented her. Which the
 wise Bishop seeing, he dismissed her instantly,
 and

and advised her Father to take her home, and Henry IV. not to impose any longer upon the People. 1599. But instead of obeying, he brought her to *Paris*, Pope Clement VIII where the wisest Sort of People guessed rightly, that it was an Artifice intended for renewing the Troubles; for the Wench talked of nothing else in her pretended Fits, but of the Reformed, of the Edict, of the Toleration, of countenanced Heresy. Whereby it was very plain, that this Comedy was the Work of a Cabal. Nevertheless, the Party of, those who countenanced and supported the Cheat, either thro' Wickedness or thro' Superstition, was so great, that the Legislature durst not take the Course which that deceitful Creature and her Father deserved. The *Capuchines*, whose Reputation is grounded only upon an Affectation of outward Mortification, and who, for the most part, are grossly ignorant and zealous to the last degree, for the lowest and silliest Bigotries, were the first who took possession of this Wretch, and caused her to be exorcised. *Gondy*, Bishop of *Paris*, suspecting some Cheat, caused her first to be examined by Physicians; a single one, namely, *Duret*, asserted that she was really possessed; against the Opinion of all his Colleagues, especially *Marescot*, who affirmed the contrary. Nevertheless, the Matter went so far, that the most sober were afraid lest a Sedition should be the Consequence thereof. Therefore the King, who was then at *Fontainebleau*, by the Advice of his most trusty Counsellors, sent Orders to his Parliament to take Cognizance of the whole Affair, to interpose their Authority and oppose these tumultuous Assemblies. Accordingly they decreed that *Martha* should be put into the hands of a Magistrate to be strictly examined by expert Physicians

Henry IV. Physicians and others of the Faculty, and to
 1599. deliver their Opinion in a Month's time. Which
 Pope Cle- Order was executed, and having been visited for
 ment VIII forty Days together by fifteen of the most ex-
 pert either Physicians or others, they unanim-
 ously certified under their Hands, that they
 found nothing extraordinary in the Girl, and
 she herself confessed her Sins, and received the
 Sacrament at *Easter*, and from that Time, her
 Convulsion-Fits were neither so violent, nor so
 frequent. But for all that, the Murmurings of
 the People, nor the Roarings of the seditious
 Preachers did not cease; these last were not
 ashamed to bawl from the Pulpit, that Eccle-
 siastical Liberty was forced by the King's Ma-
 gistrate; that such a Violence was done at the
 Instigation of the Hereticks, who dreading so
 fair an Opportunity offered by God himself of
 manifesting his own Glory, had no other way,
 than to dazzle the Faithful's Eyes by a formal
 Denial of Miracles, &c; and that despairing
 to evince the Truth of their Doctrine by such
 wonderful Works, they were afraid lest the
 lawful Ministers of the true Church should show
 forth the Efficaciousness of the Word of God,
 by performing what was impossible for them:
 and such otherlike Stuff, tending to raise a Se-
 dition amongst the People. The Parliament
 took cognizance of that Audaciousness, and
 punished these scandalous Preachers, not indeed
 as they deserved, but as the Times could per-
 mit. Then they decreed that *Martha* with
 her two Sisters and her Father should be sent
 back to *Romorantin*, by the Provost of *Paris*,
 and there put under her own Father's Custody,
 with a strict Charge not to let her ramble or go
 out of the Place, without the special Licence
 of the Judge of that Town, on pain of cor-
 poral

poral Punishment to be inflicted on both. That Mildness of the Court served only to encrease the Audaciousness of the Guilty. A few Months after, *Alexander of La Rochefoucaud*, Abbot of *St. Martin*, of the illustrious House of the Counts of *Randan*, who had been some of the hottest Leaguers, having consulted together, as it was said, with his Brother, Bishop of *Clermont*, as he passed by *Romorantin*, he took *Bossiere*, *Martha*, and *Silvina*, along with him, and brought them to *Auvergne*, taking little notice of two Decrees of the Parliament of *Paris*, whereby he and his Brother were summoned to appear before them at a certain Time, whereto not obeying, they were both deprived of their Temporalities. The King, justly offended at their Disobedience, and understanding that they were going to *Rome*, wrote to *Sillery* his Ambassador at that Court, and to Cardinal *D' Ossat*, enjoining them to inform the Pope of the whole Affair, before the Abbot and his Company had begun to play their Pranks upon that great Stage, as they had done at *Avignon*, tho' without any considerable Success. They both, but especially *D' Ossat*, managed that Business so dexterously with the Pope, and Father *Sirmond*, Secretary to Cardinal *Aquaviva*, General of the Jesuits, that the Abbot finding himself much deceived in his Expectations, was forced to submit to the King, of whom, he most humbly begged pardon, by his Lettter, for himself, and for his Brother the Bishop; and seeing himself despised at the Court of *Rome*, he died a little after with Grief. As to *Brossiere* and his Daughters, they staid at *Rome*, where they lived very miserably, receiving from the Hospitals, a Portion scarce sufficient for their Maintenance; and to compleat the Work;

Henry IV.

1599.
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. Work; and to cure perfectly the Minds of the People of *Paris*, the King caused the Letter ^{1599.} *Pope Clement VIII* which Cardinal D' *Ossat* wrote to him upon that Subject to be read publickly in the Parliament of *Paris*; so ended that irksome Business (q.)

CXI. I will not insist upon another Affair of a higher Nature, which at first seemed that it would be attended with bad Consequences, and came however to nothing; and that is, the Offence that the *Pope* took, or pretended to take, at the publishing of the Edict. He sent for the Cardinals of *Joyeuse* and D' *Ossat*, and feigned to be in a great Passion against the King; nay, he went so far as to threaten to excommunicate him for having been so daring as to publish to his Face, such a CURSED EDICT, which he looked upon as the greatest Affront that he could put upon him, just as if he had made a Scar on his Face; he uttered such other like Expressions, whereat the Cardinals seemed much terrified. But notwithstanding all this Bustle of the *Holy Father*, they found Means to mollify his Heart, and he made it plain enough by his Conduct afterwards, that he was not so angry as he would feign to be, and that he acted only out of Policy, to impose upon the *Spaniards*, who attempted to deprive him, right or wrong, of certain Ecclesiastical Rights which his Predecessors had enjoyed in the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and would have him to desist from his Pretensions, on a Thing which was of a great deal less moment, than what he suffered in *France*, where the King countenanced and openly supported Heresy, publishing such an Edict for the Settlement of Hereticks, notwithstanding

(q) Thuan. lib. cxxiii. pag. 868—875. Lettres D' *Ossat*, liv. 6. Lettre ccxi. It don't appear by D' *Ossat*, that the Father was with his Daughters at *Rome*.

withstanding the strong Oppositions of the whole Clergy, and of the Parliaments. And indeed, had the *Pope* been so much displeased with that Edict, he had had Time enough to oppose it; he could not be ignorant of what was transacting in *France*, upon that Subject, his own *Legate* had received many Complaints of the contrary Party against the said Edict; through his great Moderation, he had constantly refused to meddle with that Affair: Would he not have supported the Plaintiffs with all his might; had not the *Pope* thought proper to connive at, what he could not hinder? But such was then the Policy of the Court of *Rome*, to wink at things which they cannot hinder when they were a doing, and to thunder against them, when they were done and could not be undone (r.)

Henry IV.

1599.

Pope Clement VIII

However, the *Pope* in his Expostulations with the two Cardinals having upbraided the King with Remissness for the Catholick Religion, because he had done nothing as yet towards the publishing of the Council of *Trent*, and Cardinal *Aldobrandini* having given them to understand, that if his Majesty would cause the said Council to be published in *France*, and the *Roman* Catholick Religion to be restored in his own Dominions of *Bearn*, he would, by such Steps, blot out the Suspicions which the *Pope* entertained concerning his Religion; they wrote to his Majesty on that Subject, and *D' Ossat* especially, insisted warmly, in his Letters to the King and to *Villeroy*, upon the publishing of the said Council; pretending that it could be done with a *Salvo*, as to what concerned the Prerogatives of the Crown of *France*, the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, the Edicts of Pacification with the *Huguenots*, &c. These two things,

CXII.

The King's

fruitless

Endea-

vours to

have the

Council of

Trent pub-

lished.

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Henry IV. things, the publishing of the Council; and the restoring of the Mass in *Bearn*, were two of the sixteen Articles whereto the King had consented; when he received his Absolution.

1599.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

Therefore he set himself to work, for executing his Promise: But all his Endeavours proved fruitless as to the first Point, the Parliament of *Paris* opposed that Publishing, with all their might; so that after several warm Debates, the King himself yielded to the Solidity of their Arguments.

CXIII. He was more successful as to the Restoring of the Mass in *Bearn*. It had been banished out of that Principality about thirty Years before, by *Jane*, Queen of *Navarre*, the King's Mother, with the unanimous Consent of the States of that Country; and, notwithstanding that Prince's Order; after the Massacre in 1572, it had not been restored ever-since that Time. Now, his Majesty had a mind at first to have the Catholick Religion restored in that Country; upon the same footing as it was in *France*, that is to say, that the Catholick should be the National Church; but upon *Du Plessis's* and *Calignon's* Remonstrances, he quite altered his Scheme, and gave the Catholicks of *Bearn* no more than what he had given to the Reformed in *France*. The chief Reason, whereby *Du Plessis* moved him to it was, that if he did restore fully the Catholick Clergy in that Country; he utterly ruined the Reformed, and loaded heavily his own Exchequer; for he would be obliged to pay out of it, the Salaries of the Parliament of *Pau*, of his Chamber of Accounts, his Garisons, his Militia, his Artillery; and other necessary Charges of the State, which were then taken out of the Church Lands, and other Ecclesiastical Revenues, which had been forfeited

forfeited under the late Queen. His Majesty Henry IV. being moved by these Considerations, appointed only some Places in certain Parishes where the Catholics might perform their religious Services, and settled a Pension for the Bishops of *Lescar* and *Oleron*. The *Bearnese* receiv'd and registred that Edict without the least Opposition, as being much more favourable than what they had expected. And it was but twenty-one Years after, that the Catholics were fully restored in that Country by open Force, as we shall see under the Year 1621 (s).

The main Spring of the King's Actions at this Time, was the great need he stood in of the Pope's Authority for divorcing him from *Margaret* his Consort. He had not seen her ever since the Year 1585, when she eloped from him. Since his Accession to the Crown, he had oftentimes endeavoured to obtain her free Consent for a Divorce, *Du Plessis* had been employed in that Negociation, and the Matter had been brought near a Conclusion; but that Princess understanding the strong Inclination the King had for *Gabrielle of Etrées*, Dutches of *Beaufort*, and that he would marry that Lady if he was once divorced from her, seemed somewhat backward, and did not insist so much as she had done before, especially by her Instrument of *Febrnary* last. upon the Dissolution of her Marriage. The King was so much vexed at it, that sometimes he had a mind to have her tried for Adultery, which was very easy to make out, and have her justly condemned as such, and had it not been for certain political Considerations, very likely the King would have taken that Course; his Passion for the fair *Gabrielle* was come to such a height, that

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nothing

(s) *Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. ii. p. 254.

Henry IV.
1599:
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

CXIV.
The King's
Divorce
from Queen
Margaret.

Henry IV. nothing could have stopped him, when an unexpected Accident happened, which delivered, at once, the Kingdom from the Broils and Com-
 motions which must have unavoidably ensued, and himself from the Blemish which such a Match would have cast upon his Reputation; I mean, the untimely and lamentable Death of that fair Lady. She was gone five or six Months with Child, and, as it was then the Holy Week, the King, for avoiding the Scandal, had thought proper to part from her for a few days, and had sent her back to *Paris*, where she arrived on the *Wednesday*, and lodged in the House of a famous Partisan of that time, namely *Zamet*. The next day she was splendidly entertained at dinner by the same, and eat very heartily; then she went to Church, where she felt some Swoonings, which obliged her to return home, and while she walked in the Garden, she was seized with an Apoplectick Fit, from which being a little recovered, she would by no means stay any longer in that House, and was carried to her Sister's, where she was no sooner put to Bed, but she fell again into the same Fits, with such Violence that she was quite alter'd; her beautiful Face became, in a few Hours time, the ugliest and the most hideous Object that could be seen; she died the next day tormented with the bitterest Pains, and left the King inconsolable (1). However, *Queen Margaret* having received that News, readily consented to whatever was demanded of her, in order to obtain the desired Separation. *Sillery* had been at *Rome* since *April* last upon that account, and it was not a difficult Thing to obtain of the Pope to name Commissaries for examining the Matter: The Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, the Bishop of *Modena*, the Pope's Nuncio at the Court of

Franc,

(1) Mem. de Sully, Tom. I. chap. 90.

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France, and the Archbishop of *Arles*, were the ^{Henry IV.} Persons chosen for that purpose, who considering that that Marriage had been contracted in ^{1599.} prohibited Degrees, without the Pope's Licence, <sup>Pope Cle-
ment VIII</sup> that the Princess had never consented to that Marriage, but had acted against her own Will out of Fear, &c. they declared the Marriage void and null, and granted both Parties liberty to marry with whomsoever they pleased: that Sentence was pronounced in *November*. One of the Reasons which the Pope had by himself, for being satisfied that that Marriage had been contracted against the Princess's Will, deserves to be taken notice of. Het old Cardinal *D'Ossat* that Cardinal *Alexandrine* having been sent to King *Charles* for dissuading him to think any more of marrying his Sister with an heretick Prince, his Majesty took him one day by the Hand, and told him, MY LORD CARDINAL, WHATEVER YOU SAY IS RIGHT AND GOOD, AND I THANK THE POPE AND YOURSELF FOR IT; AND, HAD I SOME OTHER MEANS OF REVENGING MY SELF UPON MINE ENEMIES, I WOULD NOT THINK OF THIS MARRIAGE; BUT I HAVE NO OTHER MEANS. To which the Pope added, that when the said Cardinal heard, at *Rome*, of the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew's Day*, he said, GOD BE PRAISED, THE KING OF FRANCE HAS BEEN, WITH ME, AS GOOD AS HIS WORD (u) This does not require any further Commentary.

But an Affair of another nature was now CXV. upon the Anvil, which puzzled the King more ^{Conference} than any thing else. *Du Plessis*, as above said, <sup>at Fon-
tainebleau</sup> had published a Book concerning the Eucharist, ^{between} wherein he set forth the Opinion of the Fathers ^{Du Plessis} and of the School-Men in the several Ages of ^{and Du} the ^{Perron.} ^{1600.}

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(u) Thuan. Lib. cxliii. p. 885, 886. Lettres D'Ossat, Liv. v. Lettre 185.

Henry IV. the Christian Church, and shewed forth by
 1600. what degrees and means Error, Superstition
 Pope Cle and Idolatry had crept into the Church; he
 ment VIII did not spare the Popes, but told them plainly
 of their enormous Iniquities. But methinks
 his Prudence failed him in one Point, may it
 be said with respect to that great Man; viz.
 he caused his own Name, Dignities and Titles
 to be set down, which indeed drew upon him a
 terrible Storm, which he could have avoided, had
 he better considered, that how great soever his
 Fame was in *Europe*, it could add no new
 Force to the Strength of his Arguments, and
 that he had to deal with a Master who thought
 himself much indebted to the Pope, and con-
 sequently obliged to take his part, and do many
 Things for him. However, as soon as that
 Book appeared in publick, the Catholics made
 a terrible noise about it. Several Writers en-
 deavoured to answer it, and pestered the Pub-
 lick with whole Loads of foolish Pamphlets,
 which were rather Invectives against the Author
 than Answers to his Work. The Faculty of
 Divinity at *Paris* condemned it by a publick
 Censure; several private Persons published Ca-
 talogues of falsified Passages, and of Omissions
 of necessary Words in the said Passages. For
 'tis to be observed that the Author had not con-
 fined himself only within the Bounds of Scripture,
 but he had over-run the vast Field of Tradi-
 tion, and had quoted in his Book above Five
 Thousand Passages of the Fathers and School-
 Men. This was, as it were, bringing the War
 into the very Bowels of the Church of *Rome*,
 attacking her in her strongest Entrenchments,
 and violently wresting her very last Weapons
 out of her hands. There was nothing left for
 her Defence, for after having taken away the
 Scripture

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Scripture from her, which indeed she has herself ^{Henry IV.} forsaken, the Fathers and School-Men were ^{1600.} ravished from her too, and the Fountains of ^{Pope Clement VIII} Tradition, wherein she places her last Refuge. But all the Noise both of the Preachers and Writers served only to make the Book sell better, and to raise the Reputation of its Author. They attack'd it so weakly, that certainly it would have been much better for them to have let it alone. The Pope was vex'd at his Heart to see himself treated in so sharp a manner, and that too by a Person no less considerable than the great *Du Plessis*; that caused him to suspect the King's Sincerity as to Religion. There was then at *Rome* a certain *German* who boasted that he had learnt this Secret from a Protestant at *Augsbourg*, who said that *Bongars*, the King's Envoy to the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, assured them he had not changed his Religion in his Heart; and *D'Offat*, who thought it convenient for the King's Reputation to stop the spreading of such Reports, left no Stone unturn'd for finding out what could have occasioned them; and acquainted his Majesty with the Discoveries he could make upon that Subject.

It was the King's Interest that such Reports should not find Credit amongst the Catholics, but on the other hand, they were useful to him amongst the Protestant Princes, whose Alliance he courted as necessary to his Designs. But whereas he stood, at present, in need of the Friendship of the Court of *Rome*, he thought proper to satisfy the Pope, and to mortify *Du Plessis*, which could not be done without mortifying the Reformed Party at the same time. His Book afforded him a specious Pretence, nevertheless his Majesty would have been much puzzled how to execute his Resolution, had not

Henry IV. *Du Plessis's* Hastiness pav'd the Way to it. All
 1600.
 Pope Cle- his Aggressors, how different soever they were
 ment VIII in their Style and Method, yet agreed in this,
 { That many false Quotations were to be found in
 his Book. That touch'd him in the most sensible
 Part, he had 'till then withstood all the Storms
 that were raised against him, but now he could
 not bear to be charged with Falsification, and
 thought that his Honour was deeply con-
 cerned to make good the Integrity of his Quota-
 tions. But methinks he took a wrong Method,
 for instead of replying to his Adversaries by
 the same Means as they attack'd him, towards
 the End of *March* he published a Writing,
 inviting his Antagonists to join with him in pre-
 senting a Petition to his Majesty, beseeching
 that proper Commissaries should be appointed
 before whom he might justify his Quotations
 from Line to Line. A few days after *Du Perron*
 received one of these Writings, and answered
 it, accepting the Challenge, and offering to point
 out Five Hundred enormously false Quota-
 tions in the Book, without any Hyperbole;
 and he wrote at the same time to the King,
 desiring that the Conference should be ap-
 pointed. *Du Plessis* could not let this Bravado
 pass without a Reply; but lest this Multipli-
 city of Writings should break off the Design of
 the Conference, *Villeroy* advised the Bishop of
Evreux not to answer this. At the same time
Du Plessis wrote to his Majesty, and his Petition
 was tendered by the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*;
 The King being no less eager after that Conference
 than the two contending Parties, readily com-
 plied with the Request, and at the Beginning of
April, he gave Orders to the Chancellor,
 namely *Pompone of Believre*, to procure it as
 soon as possible.

But

But several Difficulties were started, which held ^{Henry IV} that Affair in suspense for some Weeks longer. ^{1600.} The Pope's Nuncio being afraid that such a ^{Pope Clement VIII} Conference with an Heretick should prove detrimental to the Catholick Religion, and besides that, lest it should be an Infringement of the Ecclesiastical Prerogative, should the King have the Nomination of the Commissaries that were to assist at that Conference, opposed it at first with all his Might; the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Bishop of *Paris*, *Benoit* Bishop elect of *Troyes*, and several others made their Remonstrances to the King against it. But his Majesty satisfied them all, assuring them that it was not for disputing about Points of Doctrine, but only for examining a Matter of Fact, whether *Du Plessis's* Quotations were false or nor; and withal, giving them his Word that care should be taken that the Catholick Religion should lose nothing by it. On the other hand, several Persons advis'd *Du Plessis* not to carry that Affair too far, but to desist, seeing his Adversary left him 4500 Quotations, the Integrity whereof he did not contest; so that tho' there were 500 less, it was no Disparagement to his Cause. But he could not endure the Word FALSE, and tho' he was very sensible of the King's high Displeasure against him, on account of his Book, nevertheless his Prudence fail'd him again on this Occasion; he relied too much on the King's Justice, and was in hopes that the Memory of his Services, the Fear of provoking the Reformed, would oblige that Prince to see that he should not have the least foul Play; he considered not that the State of his Affairs required that the Pope should be satisfied at any rate, and by any Sacrifice that could be offered.

Henry IV.^{1600.} At last the King, without any regard to *Du Plessis's* Remonstrances upon the regulating of the Conference, appointed the Place, the Time, and the Commissaries; *Fontainebleau* was the Place where the contending Parties were to meet on the 4th of May, with *Tbuanus*, *Francis Pitbou*, *John Martin*, one of the King's Physicians, *Philip* of *Canaye* Lord of *Fresne*, President in the Chamber of *Castres*, and *Isaac Casaubon* royal Professor of the *Greek* Tongue; they were the five Commissaries named by the King, the three first on the Catholick Side, the two last on the Reformed; but it is observable that *Canaye Du Fresne* had already promis'd to turn Catholick, which he did a very little time after the Conference.

Du Plessis was used with very great Rigour, and first of all the King, seeing that he could not be dissuaded from coming to a Conference, gave orders to the Chancellor to send for the contending Parties to Court; but the Chancellor sent notice thereof only to *Du Perron*, whereby he intended to blame *Du Plessis*, as if, mistrusting the Justice of his Cause, he had a mind to shun a Conference which he had so eagerly pursued, not appearing at the prefixed Time. But if such was the Chancellor's Intention, he missed his Aim, for *Du Plessis* having private Notice thereof, followed the Bishop of *Evreux* so close, that he was at Court the next day after him. Secondly, *Du Plessis* intreated that the Passages of his Book might be examined one after another, and those which were not charged with any Falsification might be deemed as good; besides that, he required that the Bishop should give him the 500 Quotations which he charged with Falsification, signed with his own Hand. These two Demands were but reasonable and just,

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just, nevertheless the Bishop was too cunning to ^{Henry IV, 1600.} comply with either. As to the first, he said he ^{Pope Clement VIII} had already answered and shewn the Reasons of his Denial, which were all included in the prodigious Length of Time requisite for such an Examination; which Reason, in truth, was too weak to be satisfactory, nevertheless the King received it as good. As to the second, the Bishop offered to put the 500 Quotations into the King's hands, out of which, he, the Bishop, should pick out 50, of his own Choice, to be examined every day. The Design of that Device was plain enough; had *Du Plessis* received all these Quotations together, as he desired, he might have been assisted by those to whom he should have communicated them, and so come better prepared to the Conference. Besides that the Bishop having his Choice of the Quotations, which were to be examined every day, he might hold *Du Plessis* in perpetual Perplexity, upon which side he had a mind to attack him; so that he should never have any longer Time to prepare himself than what his Adversary was pleas'd to allow him. Lastly, the Bishop might pick out of the said 500 Quotations those that seemed most likely to be quoted wrong, and to prepossess, by this Artifice, the People's Minds, and insinuate to them that the rest was of the like Nature.

Du Plessis was very sensible of the snare that was laid for him; he rejected these the Bishop's Offers, and petitioned the King to have at least the said Quotations put into the hands of two of the Commissaries, but *Du Perron* refus'd to comply with it. *Du Plessis* remained still in his first Resolution for some time, but after many Debates between himself, the Chancellor, *Rosni*, and four of the King's Commissaries, as the
Chancellor

Henry IV. Chancellor told him, in the King's Name, that
 1600. whether he would or not accept the Bishop's
 Pope Cle- Terms, his Majesty was fully resolved to
 ment VIII
 have the Quotations examined, even in his Absence, he yielded at last: which was another Error that he committed, for knowing what Turn that Affair took, he ought never to enter into that Conference but upon equal Terms; it would have been much better for him to have been condemned being absent than present, for tho' in that Case he would have been exposed at first, to the Censure of the Publick, it would have been very easy for him to justify his Conduct in this respect, by publishing the shameful Methods that were practised in order to get the Victory.

The third Hardship that was put upon him was, that he had not above eight Hours time allowed to examine 61 Quotations, and to compare them together with the Context. *Du Perron* sent them to him only at Eleven of the Clock in the Night of the third of *May*, to be ready the next Morning at Seven o' Clock. *Du Plessis* had not his own Books but was obliged to make use of those which his Adversary was pleas'd to lend him; he sat up all Night, and could verify but nineteen. The Bishop was so unjust as to complain bitterly thereof, as if it had been possible for that Nobleman to compare sixty Quotations with the Originals and the Context in so short a Space of Time as was scarce sufficient even to peruse them only. And he was willing to begin the Conference with other Quotations than those which *Du Plessis* had examin'd, thinking it would be more easy for him to prove the Falsification thereof, but he did not insist thereupon.

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The Conference was opened at One in the ^{1600.} Henry IV. Afternoon, the King was present with the Chancellor, some Bishops, the Secretaries of State, and six or seven Princes. The Chancellor who was to preside, declared that the Matter to be debated was not a Matter of Right, or to call in question the Doctrine of the Church; but a Matter of Fact, to know whether the Passages quoted by *Du Plessis* were genuine or not. His Majesty confirmed what the Chancellor had said, and added further that his Pleasure was, that in the Disputation, they should intirely forbear the Words FALSE or FALSIFICATION; that was another cunning Device for facilitating *Du Perron's* Victory. The Challenge had been propos'd by *Du Plessis* on account of the Charge of FALSE or FALSIFICATION, which was laid against him; that Bishop had publickly promised that he would show in *Du Plessis's* Book 500 ENORMOUS FALSIFICATIONS; he was in honour bound to make good his Word, which puzzled him to be sure; but, by the King's Favour, he was eased from that heavy Burden, and obliged only to show that *Du Plessis* had either misunderstood, or mistranslated, or misapplied his Quotations, which is quite another Thing than to falsify them. On the other hand, *Du Plessis* was surpriz'd at this unexpected Turn, he had prepared himself to show that his Authors had indeed said what he related, but not whether he had rightly understood them or not.

However, the two contending Parties having taken their Seat, and the Books being brought upon the Table, nine Passages were examined that Day. It is to be observed, that there was a vast personal Difference between them both;

Du

Henry IV. *Perrou* was a learned Man endowed with a prodigious Memory, a fine Speaker, eloquent, bold beyond Expression, who could speak better, or at least as well, even *ex tempore*, as *Du Plessis* could write; and being supported on this Occasion by the King and the whole Court, and the hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, wherewith his good Success was to be crowned, nothing was wanting to raise his Spirits as high as could be. On the other hand, *Du Plessis* was sick for some Days before, heavy and tired with spending the whole Night in the irksome Business of comparing his Quotations with the Originals, even in other Editions than his own, dejected through the Sense of his Master's Disgrace, and may be, repenting for having gone so far in that Career, and for having yielded too easily to the Persuasions of *Rosni* and some others of the same sort: besides that, he knew better how to write than how to speak, especially *ex tempore*. But for all that, *Mezeray* is not to be credited intirely in his Relation of the Trouble and Confusion *Du Plessis* was in, and of the Triumph of his Adversary; he is much mistaken therein, and *Thuanus*, who was present at that Conference as Commissary, deserves surely a greater Credit than one who wrote above fifty Years afterwards. Now here is the Account which that noble Historian gives us of that Transaction.

‘ First, says he, the Passages of *John Scot* and
‘ *Durand*, concerning the Transubstantiation and
‘ the corporal Presence of Our Lord in the Sacrament were examined, and the Opinion of
‘ the Commissaries thereupon being required, it
‘ was declared that *Du Plessis*, being deceived
‘ through the usual Method of the Schoolmen,
‘ had mistaken the Objection for the Solution in both these Authors. They came next
‘ to

to some Places of *Chrysostome* and *St. Je-* Henry IV.
rome, concerning the Invocation of Saints, ^{1600.}
 and the Commissaries pronounced, that *Du* Pope Cle-
Plessis ought to have related the whole ^{ment VIII}
 Passage in its full Length. Then as to the
 Passage of *St. Cyril*, concerning the A-
 doration of the *Cross*, they could not find it
 in his Works; that he had omitted some
 Words in transcribing the Constitution of
Theodosius and *Valentinian*; and the Chan-
 cellor pronounced, that he ought not to
 have made use of the Authority of *Peter*
Crinitus, who was a Modern of no great
 Reputation. Then *Du Perron* argued upon
 two huddled Passages of *St. Bernard*, con-
 cerning the *Blessed Virgin*, which *Du Plessis*
 had quoted, as making against her Mediation
 between God and Men, and the Chancellor
 by the Advice of the Commissaries declared
 for *Du Perron*. The last Passage that was
 examined was *Theodore's* Commentary on
 the † CXIIIth Psalm; *Du Perron* said,
 That the Word was to be render'd by *Idols*, ^{† Which}
 and not by *Images*, as *Du Plessis* had transla- ^{is the}
 ted. At last, after a long Dispute about the ^{114th of}
 Use of Images, the Chancellor pronounced, ^{our Ver-}
 that the Passage was to be understood as ^{sion.}
 meaning the Idols of the *Gentiles*, and not
 the Images of the Christians. (A fine De-
 cision indeed! as if in *Theodore's* Time there
 had been any other Image worshipped besides
 the Idols, or any other Worshipers of
 Images besides the Idolatrous Pagans, or as if
 the Words *Idol* and *Image* were not often-
 Times synonymous.)

Such is *Thuanus* his Account of that Con-
 ference, whereby it is very plain, 1 That the
 Charge of Falsification laid at first

Henry IV. *Plessis* was very wicked and false itself, seeing
 1600. that, *Cyrl's* excepted, the Words of his other
 Pope Cle- Quotations were in the Authors referred to ;
 ment VIII and as to *Cyrl*, he own'd himself, that he had
 not related his own Words, but only an Ab-
 stract of his Opinions. 2^o. That *Du Perron's*
 Victory was very far from being so compleat as
Mezeray pretends. *Tbuanus* had some Mea-
 sures to keep with the Court, and durst not
 unravel the whole Mystery. Now we learn
 by *Du Plessis's* Biographer, that had it not been
 for the King's Interposition, at *Du Perron's*
 earnest Request, the Commissaries would have
 pronounced upon *Durand's* Passage, what they
 had already declared upon *Scot's*, viz. *that it*
required to be more strictly examined ; but upon
 the King's Order, they decided as abovesaid.
 As to *Cbrysoftome*, the Passages in question were
 taken out of his first Homily upon the 1st
 Epist. to the *Thess.* and his 15th Hom. upon
 St. *Matth.* St. *Jerome* upon *Ezekiel*, Book I.
 Ch. iv.

The King behaved himself upon this Occa-
 sion in a way very little becoming Royal Ma-
 jesty, he had past the Night preceding the
 Conference in such Perplexities about the
 Success of the Day, that any thing like had
 never been observed before, even when he was
 in the greatest dangers ; and at the Conference
 he was so much afraid, lest the Commissa-
 ries should be too scrupulous or, conscientious,
 that he added exprefs Commands to decide in
 every thing according to his own Champion's
 Opinions, wherein however he was not so
 strictly obeyed as he could have wished. Be-
 sides that he ordered his Supper to be brought
 up in the same Room where the Conference
 had been held, and told *Du Perron* during the
 Sup-

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Supper, *Let us speak Truth, the good Cause* Henry IV. 1600.
was wanting some Help. He wrote also to Pope Clement VIII
the Duke of *Espernon*, beginning as follows :
My Friend, the Diocese of Evreux has con-
quered that of Saumur, &c. The rest was of the
like Style. In one place he saith, *The Bearer*
will tell ye, that I HAVE DONE WONDERS in
the Conference. That Letter was published, and
most part of the People that read it, could not
help laughing, even the Duke himself, seeing
1^o. that he stiled his *Friend*, one whom he ha-
ted above all Men in the World ; and 2^o. that
he owned that he had been obliged to exert his
Authority, for that is the meaning of these
Words, *I have done Wonders in it.*

However, the Conference could not be re-
newed, as *Du Plessis* could have desired, for he
was seized in the Night with such vomiting
Fits, that the King's first Physician ordered
him not to stir abroad if he would not en-
danger his Life. His Majesty sent Secretary
Lomenie to visit him, and to tell him that for all
what was past, he would be always his Master
and his Friend ; and that if he would forbear
writing any more against the Pope, he would
employ him more than ever. But *Du Plessis*
was too generous, and had too noble a Soul
for complying upon such Terms, which would
have reflected a Blemish upon his Religion,
as well as upon his own Character ; therefore
he chose to live in the King's Disgrace, rather
than to sacrifice the Truth to his private In-
terest : he came to *Paris*, where having set-
tled some Family Business, and being reco-
vered of his late Fit of Sicknesh, he set out for
Saumur without taking the King's Leave. He
met there the Deputies of the Churches wait-
ing for the Execution of the Edict, whereby

Henry IV. he had a favourable Opportunity of informing
 1600. all the Churches of all the Particulars of that
 Pope Cle- Conference. Two Years after, he published a
 ment VIII new Edition of his Book about the Sacrament;
 he transcribed in the Margin all the Quota-
 tions at length, and in the very Language
 of the Authors. His Majesty was very far
 from attaining his End, which was to engage;
 at least, some of the reformed Courtiers to
 turn Catholicks, and *Du Plessis*, not to write
 any more; for tho' he supported *Du Perron's*
 Relation of the Transaction in the Conferences,
Du Plessis's Reply was deemed so full, and
 besides that so agreeable to Truth, that not
 only it remained unanswered, but none of the
 Reformed, besides two or three such, like Pre-
 sident *La Canaye*, who had already pro-
 mised before to change, thought proper to re-
 nounce. Nay, the Catholicks themselves did
 justice to *Du Plessis* and his Book; and the
 first Bustles of the Bishops, who proclaimed his
 Victory every where, were no sooner over,
 but many of them, especially amongst the
 Laity, who had Capacity enough to be Judges
 for themselves, were curious to examine the
 said Book, and to compare the Quotations with
 the Originals; by which means several being
 convinced of the Truth, renounced their
 Errors. (a) And now it will not be amiss to
 acquaint the Reader with the Character of that
 famous Man, the Bishop of *Evreux*.

JAMES DAVY DU PERRON,
 Cardinal Priest of the Title of *St. Agnez*, Great
 Almoner of *France*, Commander of the King's
 Orders, Bishop of *Evreux*, and then Arch-

(a) Thuan. Libro. CXXIII. Mezeray, Tom. VI.
 Part iii. Vie de Du Plessis Mornay Liv. 2. Mem. de
 Sully, Tom. I. Ch.

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bishop of Sens, was born the 25th of Novem-
ber 1556. If D^r Aubigné is to be credited, and
he was particularly acquainted with Du Perron,
that Cardinal's Father was Davy, Minister and
Physician together, who lived at Geneva, in a
Street called *Le Perron*, from whence the said
Cardinal derived his Name. That Account is
contrary to that of some other Authors quoted
by Morery in his Dictionary, who pretend that our
Cardinal was descended from the Houses of Per-
ron, Cretteville, and Langerolle in Low Norman-
dy, and was Son to Julian Davy, Lord Du
Perron. However, they all agree in this, that
he was born a Reformed; that being a
Child, his Father, for avoiding the Persecution
under Henry II. retired with his Family to Ge-
neva, and from thence into Switzerland; that
he gave very early Proofs of a sublime Genius,
fit for any great Business; he was endowed
with a prodigious Memory, a very clear Un-
derstanding, a very uncommon Learning, and
spoke with such a Gracefulness and Eloquence,
that he never failed to persuade, at least those
who were not aware. He was extremely well
shaped, handsome in his Face, majestick in his
Mien, comely in his Dress. In a word, he
would have been the most accomplished Man
of his Time, had his moral Virtues answered
the Endowments of his Mind, and the Perfec-
tions of his Body. But he was of such an aspi-
ring Genius, that he stuck at nothing whenever
it was question to gratify the Desires of his
Ambition. Hypocrisy, Deceitfulness, Cheat,
Treason, any thing was good for him, that
could serve to attain his Aim. He went back
to France, being still very young, his bright
Parts were soon admired at Court, but he was
given to understand, that unless he should
VOL. IV. A a renounce

Henry IV.

1600.

Pope Cle-
ment VIII

Henry IV. renounce his Religion, he ought not to expect
 1600. any Advancement. A Man of his Character

Pope Clement VIII could not be long stopt in his Way by any such

Consideration; Religion or religious Principles shall never thwart him in his Designs, to be great in this World is, to him, a more solid thing than to be saved in the next; therefore he accepted readily of the Condition, and, having abjured the Reformed Religion, he was admitted Reader to King Henry III. and was obliged to discourse upon one Subject or other while his Majesty sat at dinner. But, if two several Authors his Cotemporaries are to be credited, and one of them was a Roman Catholick, his Eagerness after Favour and Preferment carried him so far, that he was like to lose it intirely: for having one day discoursed before the King upon the Being of a God, the whole Court was charmed with his Speech: puffed up with the Praises bestowed upon him without measure, and very likely thinking to please the King, he said, *Sir, I have proved this Day, by good and strong Arguments, that there is a God; to-morrow, if your Majesty will be pleased to give me Audience, I shall evince, by as strong Arguments, that there is no God:* whereupon the King was so provoked, that he bid him go out and never come before him any more. This happened on Friday the 25th of November, 1583; I can't tell how long his disgrace lasted, nor how he was restored to the King's Favour, for want of proper Memoirs upon that Subject, but he was as great at Court as ever a few Years after, and was Author of the Speech which the King delivered in the States held at Blois in 1588. After his Master's Death he entered into the young Cardinal of Bourbon's Household, and was soon admitted

admitted to his inmost Confidence, and it was ^{Henry IV.} he who put into that young Prince's Head to ¹⁵⁶⁰aspire to the Crown, and to declare himself ^{Pope Clement VIII}Head of the third Party, mentioned in its proper Place; but, even on this Occasion, he had no other View but to impose upon his Master, and to pave the way to his own Advancement; for he soon betray'd his Secret, and gave notice thereof to King *Henry IV.* who knew very well how to improve such important Discoveries. Then he was one of the greatest Promoters of the King's Change; afterwards he was adjoined to *D'Ossat* to procure the King's Absolution from the Pope. It seems that, in this Negotiation, wherein he had certainly a greater hand than his Partner, he was quite forgetful of the Honour of the Crown, and minded only his own Interest; for, willing to ingratiate himself into the Pope's Favour, and to obtain a Cardinal's Hat, he not only left undecided the Independency of the Crown of *France* from any other Power besides God, and consented to Terms very unreasonable; nay some of them impossible, but he yielded to that base and shameful Penance whereby the Crown of *France* became, as one may say, the Rubbing-brush of the Pope's Slippers. His Conduct deserved the most severe Punishment at his Return, and indeed, had he been left to the Discretion of the Parliament and of every true *Frenchman*, he would not come off so cheap as he did. He vented very dangerous Opinions concerning the Pope's Supremacy over crowned Heads, in the States held at *Paris* in 1614, as we shall see hereafter. He died in the Month of *September* 1618, in the 62d Year of his Age (c).

A a 2

Now

(c) De L'Etoile, Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. de France, Tom. I. p. 172. D'Aubigné Hist. Univers. Tom. III. liv. iii. chap. 24. Confession de Sancy, Epit. Dedicatoire à Mr. l'Evêq. d'Evreux, & alibi, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes iii, iv, v, vi, &c.

Henry IV. Now, to resume our History, the King
 1600. was much perplexed when he heard of *Du*
Pope Cle- *Pleffis's* sudden Departure; he was afraid lest
ment VIII he should impart his just Resentment to the As-

CXVII. sembly of the Reformed, who from *Chatelleraud*
The King's had removed to *Saumur* since *November* last,
Jealousy and had stayed there all the Winter, waiting for
against Du the Execution of the Edict. And indeed, had
Pleffis. *Du Pleffis* been a Man of another Character, he
 had it in his power to improve the Dispositions
 wherein he found them at his Arrival, but that
 great Man was always too generous to make a
 general Affair of his own private Concerns, and
 would not deviate from his usual Principles
 upon this Occasion, nor take advantage of this
 Opportunity to trouble those who had so un-
 worthily treated him.

CXVIII. While the Affair of the Execution of the
War of Edict was on foot, the King made his Expedi-
Savoy. tion into *Savoy*; he took the Field in the
 Month of *August*, and before the End of the
 Year he was Master of the Province of *Bressia*,
 of the Countries of *Bugei* and *Gex*, of *Chambery*,
 of the Valleys of *Maurienne*, of the *Tarentaise*,
&c. &c. and forced the Duke to come to a
 Treaty which was concluded at *Lyons* on the
 17th of *January* 1601, by the Mediation of
 the Pope. Never a War was undertook upon
 more just Grounds than this. The Duke of
Savoy, as already observed, improving the Op-
 portunity, had seized upon the Marquisate of
Saluces in 1588, and had kept it as a Country
 which opened a Passage for him to make Incur-
 sions, as he had successfully done in *Provence*,
Dauphiné, &c. till 1597, when *Henry IV.*
 summoned him to restore that Country which
 belonged to his Crown; which upon several
 false, or at the best, specious Pretences, he
 declined

Reasons
thereof.

declined to do, and had spun out the Time in tedious Negotiations till the Treaty of *Vervins* was signed in 1598, whereby the Pope was left Umpire of those Differences subsisting between the two Courts of *France* and *Savoy*, which were to be determined in a Year's time. But all the Pope's Endeavours and Sollicitations with the Duke proved ineffectual, and the prescribed Time being over, he thought that, if he himself paid a Visit to the King, he might come off at a cheaper Rate; flattering himself that, by his Presents, he might bribe some of the King's Council, and at the same time keep up and foment the Discontents of some of the greatest Men, amongst whom was the Marshal of *Biron*, with whom he had already joined a Correspondence. With these Dispositions he came to *Paris* in *December* last, and had been received with the utmost Magnificence. But notwithstanding all his Cunning, and the large Sums of Money which he scattered amongst the Courtiers, all that he could effect was only to engage *Biron* and some others more deeply in a Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign; for, as to the *Marquisate*, he found his Majesty inflexible, and all that he could obtain after above two Months stay at Court was, that he had the Choice, either to restore the said *Marquisate*, or to give the Province of *Brescia* in lieu thereof, That Cession was no less hard for the Duke than the Restitution itself; nevertheless, as he sought a fair Pretence for setting out with Honour, he feigned not to dislike the Proposition, but he desired some further Time to consider of it with his Privy-Council and the great Men of his Dukedom. Full three Months were granted him for that purpose, and he set out a few days after for *Turin*. There wanted not

Henry IV.
1600.
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. Flatterers at Court who would fain persuade
 1600. the King to arrest the Duke till he had restored
 Pope Clement VIII the Marquisate; but his Majesty rejected that
 Proposition with Scorn and Indignation, as reflecting Dishonour upon his Character; *I chuse rather to lose my Crown, says that great Prince, than to break my Word, even with the worst of my Enemies.* The three Months being over, and the Duke not performing his Promise, the King was very angry with him, and let him know that he ought to determine himself for either of the two Parties proposed; he took a further time, and made new Promises, in the mean while, he was strongly soliciting the Court of *Spain* for a speedy Assistance, but tho' that Council was sensible enough of the Necessity of granting such a Relief, they went on so slowly that it was a long while before they came to any Resolution; at last, the Count of *Fu-entes* Governour of the *Milaneſe* received Orders, but two Months too late, to assist powerfully that Prince. After having, by several Artifices, spun out the Time in fruitless Negotiations, the King's Patience was tired out, and he marched with a small Body of Troops to *Lyons*; which the Duke understanding, he endeavoured to amuse him by three Ambassadors which he sent into that City with an Instrument whereby they declared, that their Master was ready to execute the Treaty made at *Paris*, and to deliver up the Marquisate; but one of the Ambassadors, who was in the Secret of the Duke, refused to sign the said Instrument till his Master had seen it, and required further Time to acquaint him thereof; whereby the Cheat was plain enough, that his Master sought nothing else but to give time to the *Spaniſh* General to come to his Assistance. The King was

no longer his Bubble, and the Duke having at last pulled off the Mask, he was forced to come to the King's Terms in the manner above-said. By that Treaty he delivered to his Majesty, the Countries of *Bressia*, *Bugey*, *Val-Romey* and the Bailiwick and Barony of *Gex*, in lieu of the *Marquissate*, which the King yielded unto him and his Successors; besides that, he was obliged to restore *Chateau-Dauphin*, to raze *Beche-Dauphin*, and to pay 100,000 Crowns for the Artillery he had taken at *Carmagnoles* about 12 Years before.

Henry IV
1600.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

In this Expedition the King did several Things very agreeable to the Reformed, but no less displeasing to the Catholicks. As he came to the *Luiset* a Mile distant from *St. Katherine's* Fort, not far from *Geneva*, that City sent a Deputation to his Majesty, at the Head whereof was *Beza*, then above 80 Years old, who made a fine Speech to the King, tending to beseech his Majesty to deliver them from the said Fort which the Duke of *Savoy* had built to annoy their City. The Deputies were very kindly received, especially *Beza*, whom the King was pleased to call *his Father*, and presented him with 500 Crowns, besides which he granted their Request, and was no sooner Master of the said Fort but he delivered it into the Magistrates Hands, who razed it to the ground with all imaginable Expedition. These Things offended much the Catholicks, the Monks and the Ecclesiasticks amongst others, who were in the Legate's Retinue, who could not bear that his Majesty should have bestowed the Title of *Father* upon a Man whom they considered as a Heresiarch; the Legate especially was enraged at that delivering of the Fort, he made a terrible Noise about it, and threaten'd just as if the

Henry VI. Catholick Religion had been thereby brought
1600. to a certain Ruin.

Pope Clement VIII

As to the Bailiwick of *Gex*, the Neighbourhood of the Canton of *Berna* had introduced the Reformation amongst them, and it had been tolerated by the Dukes of *Savoy* till a little after the Council of *Trent*, when the said Dukes ordered all their Subjects to submit themselves to the Decisions thereof; but some time after, the *Bernese* having possessed themselves of that small Country, the Reformed got the upper hand so far, that the Catholick Religion was but tolerated; they were, a little after the Peace, permitted to enjoy the Benefit of the Edict of *Nantz*. *Bourg* the chief Town of *Bressia*, with its Castle, was put under the Government of *Peter d'Escodeca Boesse* who professed the Reformed Religion, and consequently, says *Mezeray*, more sure to the King than any other; but the Court of *Rome* was much offended at that Preference given to a Heretick before a Catholick (*d*).

CXIX. Some Months before this Expedition the King
The King's Marriage. had sent *D'Alincourt* to *Rome*, to give the Pope his thanks for the Justice he had done him in the Affair of his Divorce from *Margaret of Valois*, his first Wife; and at the same time, to let him know that, after a mature Consideration, he had fixed his choice upon *Mary of Medicis* as the fittest Princess of all others to be his Consort; she was Daughter to *Francis* Great Duke of *Tuscany*, who died in 1588, and Niece to *Ferdinand* his Successor. That Affair was managed with such Dexterity and Diligence, that the Marriage-Contract was signed at *Florence*, by his Ambassadors, on the 4th of *April*,
and

(*d*) Thuan. Lib. CXXV. D'Aubigné Tom. III. Liv. V. chap. ix, x, xi.

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and the Marriage was consummated at Lyons ^{Henry IV.} on the 19th of December. ^{1600.}

The Creation of new Offices in all the Juris- <sup>Pope Cle-
ment VIII</sup> diction of the Kingdom, even in the Parliaments, was one of the Means that *Roni* proposed to raise Money, and was like to affect the Privileges granted to the Reformed by the Edict. These new Creations are always detrimental to those who possess old Offices, their Fees become less considerable because they are to be divided between a greater number of Persons, therefore the Parliament of *Paris* would have confounded these new Offices with those out of which the King was to gratify the Reformed, according to the Edict, and which were of an old standing. But whereas these new Offices were to be bought, and that the Reformed were to be advanced *gratis*, they did not agree with the Parliament in this respect; they petitioned the King upon that Subject, who, out of his wonted Goodness, was pleased to promise that their Offices should not be comprehended in the Number of the new ones.

But the great Business of this Year, wherein CXX. the Reformed were more nearly concerned, was *Execution* The Execution of the Edict, for which purpose ^{of the Edict} Commissaries had been sent into the Provinces. they did not proceed equally every where, in some Places they were very strict, in some others less so, according to the Temper and other Circumstances of the Inhabitants; in some Places the Catholicks were more scrupulous, in others more moderate and tractable; on the other hand, there were some Places where the Reformed were strict and diligent, and others where they did their business with a great deal of Negligence: which Neglect of theirs was occasioned partly by that foolish Conceit of the approaching Fall

Henry IV. Fall of the Antichrist, as if they had had ex-
 1600. press Revelations upon that Subject; partly
 Pope Cle- by a too fond Reliance on the Integrity
 ment VIII of the Catholicks; which made them believe
 that their Settlements being once made, they
 would never be interrupted in the Enjoyment
 thereof; and as they had no Thought of ever
 encroaching upon the Catholicks, they were
 in hopes that the Catholicks would do the same;
 and partly because they believed that since these
 Settlements were done at the sight of the Ca-
 tholicks, and that the Grounds of their Right
 was so publickly known, their Posterity would
 never call in question what had been so evi-
 dent and notorious in their Fathers time. But
 from whence soever that Supineness proceeded,
 their Children have abundantly felt the sad Ef-
 fects thereof, and have had but too much rea-
 son to blame their Fathers for it.

The Commissaries on their part behaved
 themselves with all the Attention and Appli-
 cation required from them. In order to pre-
 serve a Right of Exercise, they made Inquiries,
 and took Informations, they received Depo-
 sitions of Catholick or Reformed Witnesses
 impartially, they examined all the Titles and
 Instruments that could be produced; either
 they, or their Delegates went down to the
 Places, when their Presence was required by
 any of the Parties; they summoned the Officers
 of the Places before them; they heard the
 Clergy themselves in their Pretensions and De-
 fences. The general Rule they followed was,
 to examine the reciprocal Demands upon the
 great Maxim of the Edict, to wit, to confirm
 or establish things such as they were settled
 by the Terms of the Edict. They kept them-
 selves so exactly within the Bounds of that
 Rule,

Rule, that they gave much uneasiness to the ^{Henry IV.} Reformed; I shall produce a single Instance. ^{1600.} The Article of the Edict of 1577, which that ^{Pope Clement VIII} of Nantz referred to, as to the Exercise of the Reformed Religion in a certain Place, was worded in such a manner, that it afforded Matter to many Cavils; it declared that the Places wherein the Exercise of that Religion WAS SETTLED on the 17th of September, should enjoy for the future the Liberty thereof. Now that Expression *was settled*, being a little equivocal, the Commissaries would fain explain it, as if that Concession was granted only to Places wherein Divine Service had actually been performed upon the 17th of September of that Year, a Day that did fall in that Year upon a Tuesday, wherein it was not usual to keep any religious Assembly. They would not allow of an Exercise made on the Sunday before: They required precisely this Day without minding any other, which indeed was ridiculous; but the King was more equitable.

I shall not insist upon the Particulars of this Affair, what I have said is enough to give a Notion of the Method followed by the Commissaries, which Method occasioned many Cavils upon several Articles, especially upon that concerning the Burying-places. I shall observe only, 1°. That if the Catholicks were very rigorous and unreasonable in many Places, and upon several accounts, the Reformed were no less in some others, and gave too much way to their Resentment against their old Enemies in the Provinces where they prevailed; this they shewed forth in the choice they made of the new Places of Exercise which were to be granted them by the Edict, for instead of taking the most commodious for them, (in order

to

Henry IV. to mortify the Clergy a little) they chose, as
 1600. much as they could, the nearest of the Episcopal
 Pope Cle- Cities. Those of *Nimes* demanded to have
 went VIII that new Place at the *Bridge of the Holy Ghost*;
 or at *Villeneuve d'Avignon*, which is parted
 from *Avignon* but by the Breadth of the *Rhone*,
 thereby to give the Pope the mortification to
 see the Religion of his Enemies exercised at
 the very Gates of a City whereof he is the
 Sovereign. *A slender Satisfaction indeed, not
 much worthy the Wisdom of our Ancestors!*

II°. It was impossible for the Commissaries,
 who were to pass Judgment in so many Places,
 and upon so many Affairs, always to please
 both Parties; therefore there were Appeals on
 both sides, and the King was to decide. But
 the Reformed had almost every day the bet-
 ter in those Decisions, and there are but very
 few Instances wherein the Regulations of the
 Commissaries have been corrected to their pre-
 judice, but on the contrary, many there are
 that were rectified to their advantage. From
 whence it is plain, that the King's Intention
 was, that the Articles of the Edict should not
 be eluded by rigorous Constructions, since when-
 ever there was any occasion for it, his Majesty
 explained them himself to the advantage of
 the Reformed.

1601.

III°. But though the Commissaries had been
 hard at work during part of this Year and the
 next, there remained yet many things to be
 executed. More especially, the Commissaries
 had been deficient in the principal Point of their
 Commission, to wit, to oblige all the Officers
 in the Provinces to swear to the Observation
 of the Edict, which could not be done in the
 Places where they had not been as yet.
 Wherefore the Deputies of the Reformed be-
 ing

ng still assembled at *Saumur*, and fearing lest ^{Henry VI.} that Execution should remain imperfect upon ^{1601.} that account, and that they should lose many ^{Pope Cle-} of their Rights, by the unequal manner they ^{ment VIII} would proceed in every Place; they had a mind to continue their Assembly, and to remove themselves to *Loudun*. But the King would never allow it, and he sent them Orders to break up instantly.

The Queen Dowager *Louisa of Lorrain*, CXV. Widow of *Henry III.* died at *Moulins* the 29th ^{The Queen Dowager's Death.} of *January*, aged Forty-seven Years. That Princess, who may be considered as a Pattern of Virtue in so corrupted an Age, was Daughter to *Nicolas of Vaudemont*, and *Margaret of Egmont* his first Wife, Sister to the Count of that Name, who was beheaded by the cruel Duke of *Alva*. By her great Fastings, and other corporal Austerities, she brought herself into a Dropsy whereof she died (e). She appointed her Brother the Duke of *Mertaur*, her universal Heir, but he did not enjoy that Inheritance long, for he died the next Year at *Nuremberg*, after having performed Wonders in the War of the Emperor against the *Turks*.

On the 9th of *May* 1601, was held the six- ^{CXXII.}teenth National Synod at *Gergeau*, the Rev. Mr. ^{The 16th National Synod.} *George Pacard*, Minister of *Rochefoucaud*, was chosen Moderator. They sent a Deputation to the King, beseeching him to grant the Continuation of the Assembly at *Loudun*; but his Majesty was inflexible for this time. He consented however that they should assemble again at *St. Foy*, the 15th of *October* next, for naming the Deputies that were to reside at Court, and present him the Petitions and Grievances, that might be sent to them from the Provinces.

Few

(e) Thuanus Lib. cxxv. He gives but Forty Years to that Princess, which is a Mistake; she was born in 1554.

Henry IV. Few matters of Moment were transacted in
 1601. this Synod, besides the Examination of some
 Pope Clement VIII Books about the Re-union of the two Reli-
 gions, which had been published under several
 Titles. They wrote again to *Les Dignitaires*,
 about the 17,000 Crowns which he unjustly
 detained, but they received no more Satisfaction
 than before. They wrote also to *Casaubon*,
 to congratulate him on his Constancy in Reli-
 gion. They forbid Ministers to be the first
 Aggressors in Disputes concerning Religion:
 It appears that the Marquess of *Rosny* had been
 very neglectful in paying the Churches the
 45,000 Crowns allowed by the King for their
 Maintenance, seeing that there were Arrears
 due unto them for each of the three Years
 past since the Grant. It appears also by the
 List drawn up in this Synod, that the Number
 of Churches amounted this Year to 753, a
 great many whereof had Annexes which are
 not reckoned. The Synod ended their Sessions
 the 25th of May (f).

CXXIII. In June, the King forbid all manner of
 The King forbids Commerce with Spain Trade between his Subjects and those of Spain,
 on account of an Affront put upon his Am-
 bassador at *Madrid*, and was like to revenge it
 at the Point of his Sword: But the Duke of
Lermes first Minister of Spain, who dreaded
 the renewing of the War, as the Ruin of his
 own Fortune, intreated the Pope in his Ma-
 ster's Name, to mediate some Agreement be-
 tween the two Courts, promising that his own
 was ready to give all reasonable Satisfaction to
 the King of France; the Pope having inter-
 posed his good Offices with Henry, a Recon-
 ciliation soon followed.

Now

(f) Aymon Synod. Nationaux Tom. I. Quick Synodis
 con. Tom. I.

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Now Queen *Elizabeth* was earnestly desirous to see the King, to impart unto him the Ways and Means she revolved in her Mind for the humbling of the House of *Austria*; for which purpose she had proposed an Interview upon Sea between *Calais* and *Dover*. Accordingly the King set out for *Calais* by the latter end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, but while he was there, he received News that very likely the Queen his Consort was very near her time; therefore he set out with all diligence to be present at her Lying-in, and sent the Marshal of *Biron* with a numerous Retinue to pay his Compliment to Queen *Elizabeth*, and make his Excuses upon this Disappointment. The Marquefs of *Rafay*, to whom the King trusted intirely for the most important Affairs, had preceded incognito the Duke of *Biron*, with Orders to know her Majesty's Intentions.

Henry IV.
1601.
Pope Clement VIII
He goes to Calais.

The Queen was safely delivered of a Prince the 27th of *September*; the Pope was his God-father, and gave him the Name of *Lewis*. The King was overjoyed on this Occasion, as were all true *Frenchmen*, (though *Mezeray* observes that this Birth was preceded by an Earthquake, which was taken as an Omen of the great Commotions which happened under his Reign) they saw by that Birth all the Seeds of Civil War suppressed, which the several Pretensions to the Crown might have produced, had *Henry* died without a lawful Heir. But that did not hinder the *Spaniards* from preparing themselves to sow Divisions in the Kingdom; their Emissaries spread industriously a Rumour amongst the People, that the King having promised under his Hand to marry the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, before he was married with *Mary of Medicis*, it was a dubious thing,

CXXIV.
Birth of a Dauphin.

Henry IV. thing, whether the Succession to the Crown
 1601. belonged to the Children of that Princess, ra-
 Pope Cle- ther than the Marchioness's.
 ment VII

In order to understand this, one must know that after the Dutcheſs of *Beaufort's* Death, the King, whose Heart was not used to be free; was taken with the Charms of *Henrietta De Balsac*, Daughter to the Lord of *Entragues*, and of *Mary Touchet*, formerly Mistress of the late *Charles IX.* She was very jovial, sprightly, witty and engaging, but exceedingly ambitious: Her Parents desiring to improve this Opportunity for the Advancement of their Fortune, kept her very close, lest the King's Flame might be extinguished through the Enjoyment; their Daughter seconded perfectly well their Design, for tho' she had received of his Majesty a Gift of 100,000 Crowns ready Money, nevertheless, she feigned that her Parents were so scrupulous, that they would not consent that she should comply with his Desires, unless he would pleased to give her a Promise of Marriage under his Hand, and by her constant Refusals and a feigned Modesty, she heated the King's Passion to that degree, that at last he granted the said Promise, whereby he did bind himself to marry her in a Year's time, provided that in that time she should be deliver'd of a Son. That Promise was dated the latter End of the last Year, and occasioned much trouble, for the Lady did all her Endeavours to make it declared good. Now whether his Majesty's Ministers were afraid lest their Master would be as good as his Word, or for some other Reason, *Sillery* and *D'Offat* hastened as much as they could the Conclusion of the Match with *Mary of Medicis*, and the King found himself bound with her, almost unware.

It

It cannot be conceived what trouble *Henrietta*, Henry IV. 1601. who had been created Marchioness of *Verneuil*, Pope Clement VIII a little after her Consent, was at, when she received the News; she saw herself fallen from the great hopes she had of wearing a Crown, nevertheless she dissembled: but the Count of *Auvergne* her Uterine Brother, as much out of the Wickedness of his own Temper, as out of Resentment, resolved to be revenged upon the King; he joined himself with the Malecontents, and altogether plotted to shut up the King in a Prison, to deprive him of his Crown, and to bestow it upon another Prince of the Blood. His Majesty had some hint of this Plot during his Expedition in *Savoy*, which made him agree to a Peace sooner than very likely he would have done. The Count however continued his Intrigues, and this Plot being discovered, he leagued himself with the Marshal Duke of *Biron*, and some others, and kept secret Correspondences with *Spain*, and other Enemies of the State.

Such was the Situation of Affairs when the *Dauphin* was born, the *Spanish* Faction, who missed no Opportunity of sowing Division in the State, took this for raising Scruples in the Peoples Minds, concerning the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage with *Mary of Medicis*: There were some *Spanish* Casuists who questioned whether the Dispensation had been truly obtained. Some Preachers in the *Low Countries* were bold enough to assert the Negative in their Sermons; and at divers times Libels were dispersed in publick about that matter.

The Deputies of the Reformed met together CXXV: A Political Assembly at at *St. Foy*, on the 15th of *October*, as the King had promised them; their chief Business was *St. Foy*.

Henry IV. to name some Deputies to reside at Court, and
 1601. take care of the Affairs of the Churches; but
 Pope Cle- they did not stop here, for they took into their
 ment VIII Consideration several things which concerned
 the Welfare of the whole Body in general, and
 of each individual Part thereof in particular,
 and drew up a Petition to be presented to the
 King.

Two Months or thereabout before this Assembly, his Majesty had favourably received a Bill of Grievances tendered unto him by the late Assembly. They complained that in *Dauphiné* the Reformed were obliged to pay Land-Taxes for their Churches and their Church-yards; that in several Places their Poor were depriv'd of publick Alms, and that their Sick were forcibly sent out of the Hospitals; that at *Bordeaux* and *Saintes*, the Magistrates attempted to seize upon the Money that was gathered for the Poor at their Church-Doors; that at *Rouën* they refused to receive the Petitions presented in Parliament, in the name of a Church or of a Corporation, or Commonalty reformed, on account of their Religion; that at *Orleans* and elsewhere, they obliged the civil Officers at their Admission into their Office, to take an Oath to live in the *Roman* Religion; that at *Gergeau*, the King's Attorney had deposed his Substitute, only on account of his Religion; that at *Lyons*, the Knight of the Watch had got it into his Head to accompany their Funerals, for which he extorted extravagant Fees from them; and that the Keepers of the Hospital of the Bridge upon the *Rhône*, disturbed their Funerals as much as they could. The King had been graciously pleased to grant them, upon all these Articles, whatever they could reasonably expect. He granted likewise, that the Churches of the
 Country

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 371

Country of *Gex*, should be preserved in the same State they were in at the Union of that Country to the Crown; and that the Reformed should trade in all the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, without being molested for their Religion, according to the 53d of the private Articles of the Edict of *Nantz*.

Henry IV.
1601.
Pope Clement VIII

The Assembly of *St. Foy* having congratulated the King on the Peace lately made with the Duke of *Savoy*, and on the Birth of the *Dauphin*, required the Redintegration of the last Edict of *Nantz*, such as it had been agreed and granted at first in this City; they pretended that the King had promised them such a Redintegration as soon as the Affairs of the Kingdom could permit it. Then they insisted that those Parliaments which had verified the Edict, but under certain Restrictions and Modifications, should be obliged to make them void; that certain Exemptions should be granted to the Colleges which the Reformed should found; and other Articles concerning the Chambers of the Edict.

This first Petition was followed by another; and whereas the Assembly had been informed that the Court denied absolutely the first Article of the former, they thought proper to insist again upon the thing itself, and to lay aside the Name; therefore they required that the Edict should be executed throughout the whole Kingdom, such as it had been verified at *Paris*, whereby they reserved to themselves the hopes of restoring one time or other, the Breaches which the King's Council had made unto it, and seemed to accept of it only by Provision. Many other Articles were added concerning the Manner how the Edict ought to be executed; the Privileges of their Cham-

Henry IV. bers, and of the Presidents and Counsellors Re-
 1601. formed Members thereof : For the Catholicks
 Pope Cle- pretended that these Chambers, either of the Edict
 ment VIII or mixt, ought to be under the Jurisdiction of
 the Parliaments, and under their Dependance ;
 and that the Catholick Presidents or Counsellors ought to have the Precedency before the Reformed, though their Reception was of a newer Date than these ; whereto the Reformed could not comply at all, the First, as contrary to the Edict ; and the Second, as contrary to Right Reason. They required also some other Privileges for these Chambers ; and above all, to find out some means to preserve the Reformed from the Rigour of the Parliaments of *Tboulouse*, *Bourdeaux* and *Grenoble*, from whom they could expect no Justice. As to the Affairs, the Cognizance whereof was taken from the Chambers of the Edict, they required several other like Regulations for the Provinces, for the Offices, and for the cautionary Towns that were in their hands, &c.

The first Petition was answered only in *March* 1602 ; the Court denied ever to have made any such Promise of redintegrating the Edict, such as it was when signed at first at *Nantz*, and consequently refused to make any alteration : but as to the other Articles, the King gave them what Satisfaction they demanded. The second Petition remained a long while in the hands of the Council, at last they were variously answered in the Month of *August* 1602 : Some of the Articles were purely and simply granted, others extended and amplify'd, others partly granted and partly refused, and others absolutely refused. There were many on which the Council took time to consult the King's learned Council, for resolving

solving after their Advice: some others where-
 upon the King ordered the concerned Parties
 should sue before him by way of Petitions: some
 others whereupon he desired to see the Decrees,
 and Acts mentioned in them: some others the
 full Cognizance whereof he reserved to him-
 self, to ordain what he should think proper.
 But in general, all the Answers were temper-
 ed with such a Spirit of Goodness and Equity,
 that plainly discovered what were the King's
 secret Intentions, and that he willed without
 any Disguise or Equivocation, that his Edict
 should be observed, and that the Difficulties
 that arose upon the Execution thereof should
 be favourably explained. Which Intention he
 was pleased to shew forth by the Orders he
 sent to the Parliaments, Governors and other
 Magistrates in the Provinces, in behalf of his
 Reformed Subjects: and indeed during the
 remaining part of his Reign, he gave sufficient
 proofs that he loved them sincerely.

Therefore I cannot join in opinion with the
 learned Historian of the Edict of *Nantz*, who
 acknowledging these the King's good Intentions
 and Will in behalf of the Reformed, never-
 theless ascribes to him some far-fetched politi-
 cal View in the Settlement of the Deputies that
 were to reside near his Person, and take care
 of the Affairs of the Reformed Churches, and
 which took place only some twenty or twenty-
 five Years after, as if the King had had a mind
 to suppress intirely these political Assemblies.
 True it is, that his Majesty's Intention was to
 render them less frequent. The Reason there-
 of, besides that which is common to all Princes,
 who are not well pleased to see their Conduct
 and Government controll'd by their Subjects,
 represented in the States by their Deputies,

Henry IV. (for these political Assemblies are to be con-
 sider'd as the States of the Reformed) besides
 1601. that, I say, Suspitions and Jealousies were at
 Pope Clement VIII this time very rife in the Kingdom; the Re-
 formed were told by the King's Enemies that
 a Plot was laid against them for their utter
 Destruction: On the other hand, the King was
 given to understand, that some of the greatest
 Lords in the Reformed Party did their Endeavours
 to raise Suspitions and Jealousies in the
 Minds of their Party, and to foment Discon-
 tents amongst them, which might prove of
 bad Consequence, if not prevented in time.
 The Reluctancy which the Assembly at *Loudun*
 had shewn for breaking up when the King or-
 der'd them, colour'd those false Reports. These
 Mistrusts and Jealousies occasioned this new
 Settlement of Deputies to reside at Court. At
 first they were nominated by the Reformed
 themselves, but a few Years after, the King
 ordered that they should name six Persons, out
 of which he should pick two. Their time
 of Service was to be one Year, but his Ma-
 jesty obtain'd within a little time that their Com-
 mission should last for three Years: their Sa-
 lary was to be paid out of the King's Purse,
 but at the Synod of *Gap*, they resolved that if
 the Deputies did not receive the whole Pay-
 ment of the Salary promised by the Court, that
 Deficiency should be made good out of the
 Sums granted by the King for the Subsistence
 of the Churches, and for the keeping of the
 Garisons: and this they enacted on purpose to
 tye the better these Deputies to the Interest of
 the Churches. But all these Regulations were
 quite altered under *Lewis XIII.* and *XIV.* as
 we shall observe in its proper place. The first
 that held that Office, were the Lord of *St.*
Ger-

Germain, and *Mr. Des Bordes*; they were named by the Assembly at *St. Foy* for a Year, but were continued by the Synod of *Gap*; the First was taken out of the Nobility, the Second out of the Commons; they had a mind to subjoin another out of the Body of the Ministers, but the Court did not agree to that.

Henry of Chatillon, Grand-son to the Admiral of *Coligny*, was killed in the Month of *September*, with a Cannon-shot, at *Ostend*, besieged by Arch-duke *Albert*. That young Lord was very promising, he was naturally inclined to War, and was endowed with all the Parts and Qualifications which constitute a Hero; especially he was extremely well beloved by the soldiery. It is said that he had such an Interest in the Army of the *States*, that Prince *Maurice of Nassaw* look'd on him with an Eye of Jealousy. His Interest was not less amongst the Reformed in *France*, who descried in him the like Virtues as in his Father and his Grandfather. He spoke always of their Actions, and aspired to the Glory of being their Imitator: he wished ardently to be like his Grandfather, at the Head of the Reformed, and to give a Battle for their Cause. His Death was much lamented in *France* and *Holland* (g.)

But there were very dangerous Motions in the State, which were stirred up by foreign Intrigues. The Court was full of Malecontents, and engaged therein under divers Pretences. a Man of a presumptuous Spirit, and without judgment, was so deeply involv'd in them, that it cost him his Life. But whereas it was believ'd, that the King was yet strong enough to quash this Conspiracy, as long as he had the Reformed on his side, nothing was left undone

B b 4

to.

(g) Thuan. Lib. cxxvi. Mem. de Sully, Tom. II. ch. 4.

Henry IV.
1601.
Pope Clement VIII

CXXVI.
The young
Count of
Chatillon's
Death and
Character.

1602.
CXXVII.
Dangerous
Motions in
Biron, the King's
dom.

Henry IV.

1602.

Pope Clement VIII

to engage them in that dangerous Party. From the beginning of last Year, they had receiv'd Advice, as above said, as by way of Friendship, that the Peace of the State was the way to their Ruin; that a powerful League had been concluded against them, while they were negotiating the Peace of *Savoy*; that the Scheme for a kind of Croisado against them had been drawn up; that the Catholick Princes had sworn it by their Deputies, upon the Sacrament administred to them by the Legate; that each of them was assessed to a certain Sum, and a certain number of Soldiers; that this League was to last till the Protestant Religion should be utterly destroyed; that there were two Originals of this Treaty signed by the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*; that the said Duke had one of them by himself, which he offer'd to put into the hands of the Reformed. They were then offered, if they would enter into an Association with the said Duke, and the Malecontent Catholicks of the Kingdom, to be put in possession of all the Western Part of *France* parted by the *Loire*; then what they should or could conquer in *Dauphiné* by their own Forces, provided that they should not pass these Limits, and that they should leave the Catholicks free to do what they pleas'd with the other part of the Kingdom; they were to have the Government of two of the most important Cities in the District of the Catholicks, and besides that 200,000 Crowns for their Armament, and the like Sum yearly for discharging the Expences of the War, as long as it should last. No Peace or Agreement should be treated or concluded without their Consent; for Security thereof, the Cities of *Lyons* and *Dijon* should be immediately deliver'd into their hands.

These

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These Propositions had been sent to the Duke ^{Henry IV. 1602. Pope Clement VIII.} of *Bouillon*, by a Person unknown; whereupon, though he was sensible enough of the Ridiculousness of these Propositions, and that they were but a Device to cast the Kingdom into new Troubles, whereof its ancient and irreconcilable Enemies were to make their Profit; nevertheless, because the whole Body of the Reformed were concerned in them, he thought proper to communicate them to some of the Chief, in a certain number great enough for giving notice thereof to the whole Body, if there was any necessity, and nevertheless little enough that the Secret might be kept the better: they were nine in all, who having heard the Proposals, and considered some Letters of some Presidents in the Parliament of *Paris*, voted all unanimously, that they ought to let those wicked Disturbers of the publick Peace vent out their Passions, which would redound to their own Shame without being Partakers therein; and in the mean while, to take proper measures for avoiding either the Blame of Indiscretion, or the Crime of High Treason (b).

The Rev. Mr. *Benoit* pretends, that that Advice of a League sworn against the Reformed, was confirmed by another given to the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, by one *Brochard Baronius*, who called himself Nephew of the Cardinal of that Name, and who pretended to be sent by the Pope to the Catholick Princes, to make them sign that Scheme of a new Croisade; and that having not been rewarded as he expected, he went into *Germany* and *Holland*, where he made the same Discoveries as he did to the

Duke

(b) D'Aubigné Tom. III. Liv. 5. ch. 13. But he don't name the Duke of *Bouillon*; I do name him by Conjecture, grounded upon the Misfortune that befel him about this Time, only for not having revealed what he knew.

Henry IV. Duke of *Bouillon*. But whereas the said Historian, according to his Custom, quotes no Authority for what he says, and that I have found nothing in the Historians or Memoirs, &c. of those days, that I know of, which could afford me the least Light upon that Subject; I don't think proper to assert the truth of such a thing, which has happened, if ever, above 90 Years before Mr. *Benoit* wrote that Transaction (i).

1602.
Pope Clement VIII

The truth is, that there was a great ferment kept up by the false Rumours which the Enemies of the State caused this Year to resound to the People's Ears, viz. that the King was going to retrench two Thirds of their Allowances; that they should receive no longer any private Pension of him, that he would not prolong the Term for the keeping of their cautionary Towns; that they would be admitted no longer into any Employment without their turning Catholicicks. These Calumnies industriously spread abroad by the Factious, were of a Consequence so much the more dangerous, that People in the Provinces were in a great Ferment, on account of a Tax of a Penny *per Livre*, which they were obliged to pay since the Year 1596. Nevertheless, very few amongst the Reformed were moved at the false Reports above mentioned, and none stirred out upon that account.

The Tax of a Penny *per Livre* granted to the King, by the Notables of the whole Kingdom, assembled at *Rouen* in 1596, upon the Estates, Monies, Goods, Merchandise of all his Subjects, for supporting the necessary Charges of the War against the *Spaniards*, who had then seized upon *Amiens*, was very burthensome and grievous upon the Subject: for in every

(i) *Benoit Hist. de L'Edit de Nantes, Tom. I. Liv. 8.*

every City, the Merchants were searched, and Henry IV. the Goods and Merchandise were unpack'd; ^{1602.} every one was obliged to shew what he carried, ^{Pope Clement VIII} either in his Pockets or otherwise, so that there was no Liberty left in the Kingdom, either for Merchants or Travellers. Besides that, that Tax was exorbitant: for there are such Goods as were sold ten or twelve times from one to another, and so it happened, sometimes, that their Value was scarce sufficient to pay that Tax, because, every time they were sold, they were obliged to pay a Penny per Livre. Moreover they were at a great Charge to raise it, for a great Number of Clerks were employed for that purpose, who, endeavouring to raise their Fortune, and to live as luxuriously as their Masters, exposed the Merchants to many Vexations, for which they could obtain no Redress.

Their Patience being quite tired out, they CXXVIII attempted to do themselves justice, especially ^{The King goes to Poitiers to appease them.} in the Southern Provinces. The King having Notice of these Commotions, was afraid lest they should be excited by the Emissaries of the Duke of *Biron* and the Count of *Auvergne*, whose Plot his Majesty had but just now discovered; therefore a little after *Easter*, he set out from *Fontainebleau* and came to *Blois*, and from thence to *Poitiers*, where he most graciously and favourably received the Petitions, and hearkened unto the Complaints of his People: He remonstrated to the Deputies of *Guienne*,
 ' That the Taxes which were laid upon his
 ' Subjects were not employed to enrich his Mi-
 ' nisters and Favourites, as his Predecessors had
 ' done, but to support the necessary Charges of the
 ' Government; that had his own Demefn been
 ' sufficient for that purpose, he would never
 ' have taken any thing from his People, but
 ' having

Henry IV. 1602. *Pope Clement VIII*
 having been obliged to lay out his own Patrimony upon that account, it was but just that they should contribute of their own for their own Defence and Preservation; that he earnestly desired to relieve and ease his People, that they might earnestly pray for the Prosperity of his Reign; that the Suspicions and Jealousies they had conceived, as if he had a mind to build Citadels in their Cities, were ill grounded, and the Effects only of the Malice of the Enemies of the State; that he desired to build no other Citadels but in the very Hearts of his Subjects (*k*).²

By these kind Remonstrances he put an end to the Seditions, and there was no need of any other Punishment, only the Consuls of *Limoges* were deposed, and two or three were executed, and the *Pancart* was settled again, (so they called the Tax of a Penny per Livre) but it was only to preserve the Royal Authority; for that good and great Prince, sensible of the great Vexations caused by it, revoked it and abolished it intirely, a few Weeks after (*l*).

CXXIX. But there was another thing which much perplexed the King, to wit, *Biron's Conspiracy*. That Lord, who certainly was one of the greatest Captains of his time, to whom the King and the Kingdom stood much indebted for the many faithful and important Services he had done to the Crown and his Country, was exceedingly self-conceited and proud, thinking that it was not in the King's power to reward sufficiently his Services, whatever Dignities, Honours, Employments, Riches he could heap upon him; besides which, he was exceedingly
 passionate,

(*k*) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom II. chap. 10. *Mezerai*, Part III. Tom. VI. Prefixe *Hist. de Henry IV.* p. 357. Edit. d'Amst. 1664. (*l*) *Id. Ibid.* Thuan. Lib. 123, ad init.

passionate; and when in a passion, he spared ^{Henry IV.} Nobody, not even Majesty itself, but vented ^{1602.} out, in a *Braggadocio's* way, whatever he had ^{Pope Cle-} in his Thoughts. Now the Duke of *Savoy* being come to Court, as above said, less for treating with his Majesty upon reasonable Terms for the Marquisate of *Saluces*, than to pervert some of the greatest Lords and debauch them from their Allegiance; accordingly, as he saw that he could not impose upon the King to obtain his Ends by his Cunning and Artifice, he undertook to sow Jealousies amongst the Courtiers, and to increase the Discontents of those who thought themselves ill rewarded for their past Services; on which account he observed all the disobliging Words which the King let drop, against the one or the other, and caused them to be reported to the Person concerned: for that purpose, he made use of *James De La Fin*, a Lord of a very noble Extraction, Uncle to *Pregent De La Fin*, Vidame of *Chartres*, but the basest and wickedest of all the Villains of his Time, for which Reason he durst not show his Face, publickly, at Court; he was intimate with the Marshal Duke of *Biron*, and had already began a Correspondence between that Lord and the Duke of *Savoy*.

This Prince being thoroughly acquainted with the Marshal's Character and Temper, affected upon all Occasions to speak with the greatest Encomiums of his great Feats and Merits; he extolled to the Skies, when he was with his Majesty, the Courage, Fortitude, Magnanimity, Presence of Mind, and other great Parts of *Biron*, in the Command of the Armies. One day, as he was upon that Subject, the King told him, that many there were who judged wrong of his own Affairs; that he had much more trouble in setting Peace and Concord amongst

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Henry IV. amongst his own Subjects, than in subduing his
 1602. Enemies ; that very often he had received more
 Pope Cle- Harm and Damage from his own, than from
 ment VIII. his open Enemies, and that through the rough
 and untractable Spirit of the Marshal of *Biron*,
 and of the Duke his Son. This he spoke with
 some Sharpness and Passion ; which Words
 were curiously collected by the Duke of *Savoy*,
 and by him instantly reported to *Biron*, by the
 means of *La Fin*, who failed not to magnify the
 Object both as to the Words themselves, and
 as to the Manner they had been spoken. The
 Marshal, who was exceedingly violent in his
 Passions, fell into a rage at the hearing of this,
 and said, that had he been present when these
 Words had been spoken, he would have filled
 up with Blood the place where they were
 spoken, even at the peril of his own (*m*). He
 held a Conference with the Duke of *Savoy*, at
Conflans near *Paris*, and began a Treaty with
 him, carried on afterwards by *La Fin* : before
 and during the Expedition of *Savoy*, he con-
 tinued the same Correspondence with the said
 Duke, and the Count of *Fuentes*, the *Spanish*
 Governor of *Milan*. But the King being come
 to *Lyons*, there to meet the Queen his Consort
 just then arriv'd from *Italy*, he follow'd thither
 his Majesty, and made him freely a thorough
 Confession of his Crimes and Misdemeanours,
 for which his Majesty granted him his most
 gracious Pardon, upon promise that for the
 future he should behave himself as it became
 a loyal and faithful Subject (*n*). It is said that
 after this Conference, he met with the Duke
 of *Espernon*, to whom he told what he had de-
 clared

(*m*) Thuanus Lib. cxxiii. p. 888, 889.

(*n*) Id. Ibid. But as to this *Biron's* Confession, see Peter Mathiew's Hist. of Henry IV. Tom. II. Liv. v. Serres Hist. de France, Tom II.

clared to his Majesty, and the free Pardon he ^{Henry IV.} had obtained; whereupon the Duke asked him ^{1602.} whether he had obtained an Act of Abolition? ^{Pope Clement VIII} To which the Marshal answer'd, that the Duke of *Biron* ought not to be treated as other Subjects of the common sort, and that the King's Word was sufficient for him (o).

Biron persevered not long in these good Dispositions of Loyalty to his King; a little after he wrote to *La Fin*, who was then at *Milan*; and being come back to *Bourg* in *Bressa*, he sent *De Bosco* to forward the Negotiation which was continued at *Some*, between the Duke of *Savoy*, *Fuentes* and *La Fin*. But this Man being suspected by the Count, and the Duke of *Biron*, and understanding that Baron *De Lux* was got into the Confidence of *Biron*, he resolv'd to be reveng'd, and to make, for that purpose, a full Discovery of all the Intrigues, Plots, and Conspiracies, wherein the said Marshal was engaged, and whereof he himself had been the Author and Abettor. For that end he set out from *Milan*, and suspecting something from the Count of *Fuentes* or the Duke of *Savoy*, he took his way thro' the *Grisons*, *Basil*, *Porentru* and *Besançon*, and avoided by that means the Fate of his Secretary *Renazé*, who coming thro' *Savoy*, was arrested Prisoner by the Duke's Orders.

La Fin being arrived in *France*, solicited his Pardon, by the means of his Nephew the Vidame of *Chartres*, promising to reveal the whole Mystery to his Majesty; which Pardon being granted in due form, he sent word to the Marshal, that he could not delay any longer his going to Court, being summoned by the King, and that he desired him to let him know what he should say to his Majesty concerning their

(o) Pierre Mathiew, *ibid.*

Henry IV. their past Transactions. *Biron* answered, that
^{1602.} he desired him to dispatch out of the way all
Pope Clement VIII those who had been Accomplices with him in
 his Negotiations in *Italy*, to put all his Papers
 in a Place of Safety, if he had not burnt them
 already, and to remember that he had in
 his power his Life, his Fortune, his Honour
 and his All. All this while the said Marshal
 continued his Practices in *Spain* and *Savoy*:
 Spurred by his own Ambition, he neglected no-
 thing that was in his power to compass his
 Ends; he had been promised to have for his
 Share the Sovereignty of *Burgundy* and *Brescia*,
 to marry the third Daughter of the Duke of
Savoy, with 500,000 Crowns Portion, and
 such other like Advantages. *Spain* and *Savoy*
 made great Armaments by Sea and Land under
 very frivolous Pretences, but really for falling
 upon *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, &c. The Misfor-
 tune of the Kingdom was very near to be com-
 pleted, had not *La Fin* revealed the Secret
 time enough to prevent it.

He came to *Fontainbleau*, had several Con-
 ferences with the King and his chief Ministers,
 opened the whole Plot, charged several Lords
 of the first Rank with being privy or accessary
 to this Conspiracy, and delivered to the Chan-
 cellor several Letters of the Marshal of *Biron*,
 and other Papers, especially a long Memoir
 containing the Particulars of the said Plot, and
 the Ways and Means of executing it, written
 with *Biron's* own hand. All this Discovery
 was kept very secret. Though the King was
 touch'd to the quick with it, nevertheless he
 dissembled so far, that he told Baron *De Lux*,
 who was come to Court upon some private
 Business, that he was very well pleased with
 the Account *La Fin* had given him of the
 Marshal

Marshal of *Biron's* Conduct, whereby he was fully satisfied as to certain Designs that were laid to his charge, and that he desired him to persist in his Loyalty. On the other hand, Henry IV.
1602.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

La Fin wrote to the Marshal, to certify him that he had said nothing which might do any Prejudice to him, or create unto him the least Uneasiness. Such ways were then necessary not to scare the Marshal, and to engage him to come to Court, as the King desired him. That was the difficult Point; for being conscious of his own Guilt, and receiving frequent Intelligences from Court which dissuaded him to comply, he was very averse from that Journey, and refused upon several frivolous Pretences to yield to the King's Command, 'till President *Janin* was sent unto him, who at last prevailed upon him to come to Court.

The Orders which the King had sent to the Governors of the Southern Provinces to be upon their Guard, to watch the Motions of the *Spaniards*, and to put themselves in a State of Defence; the good Success his Majesty had been attended with in his Journey in *Poitou*, and other Provinces of the *Orleanese*; the Resolution he knew the King was in, to come himself to fetch him out of his Government, if he persisted in his Disobedience; and the proud and extravagant Conceit he had of himself, just as if the Kingdom could not subsist without him, so that no body could be so daring as to attack him; were, conjointly with *Janin's* Insinuations and fine Promises, the chief things which at last overcame his great Reluctancy.

He set out from *Dijon* by the beginning of *June*, and arrived at *Fontainebleau* on the 13th, when he was little expected. When he had paid his Respects to the King, his Majesty took him

to own his Crimes, but in vain, so that he was arrested in the Palace at *Fontainebleau*; and at the same time the Count of *Auvergne* was likewise arrested in the same Palace by *Praslin*. The next day, which was the 15th of *June*, they were both carried by water to the *Bastile*. Three days after, *Biron's* Brothers, and several others of his Relations, came to the King to implore his Mercy in the Prisoner's behalf; but his Majesty was inflexible, only he granted them full liberty to vindicate his Innocence, if they could, by all lawful Means.

Henry IV.

1602.

Pope Clement VIII

The King named four Commissaries to draw up the Charge against the Prisoner, viz. *Nicholas Du Harlay*, First President of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Nicholas Potter*, Second President, *Stephen de Fleury*, and *Philibert de Thurin*, Counsellors in the same. They went to the *Bastile*, and interrogated the Marshal; he was in such a Passion, that his Answers betrayed his Guilt, and made more against him than for him. Then being asked what Character he could give of *La Fin*, he gave him one of the best, adding, that he took him for his Friend; but when he saw him before his face asserting the Truth of whatever he had deposed, decyphering some new Letters, giving new Lights upon the whole Affair, he quite altered his Language: *La Fin* was then no better than a *Sodomite*, a *Conjurer*, and the worst of all Mankind; and added, that was *Renazé* alive and present, he would give him the Lye. That Man was *La Fin's* Secretary, who, as above said, had been arrested in *Savoy*, by the Duke of that Country's Orders, and *Biron* thought that he had been put to death by this time; but how great was his surprise, when that very same Man was brought before his Face, who confirmed whatever his

He is examined and tried.

Henry VI. Master *La Fin* had deposed? (for having bribed
 1602. his Guards, he made his Escape with them,
Pope Cle and was arrived *incognito* at *Paris* one day be-
ment VIII fore). He was quite confounded at that sight,
 and imagined that Hell had conspired his Ruin;
 at least, that the Courts of *Spain* and *Savoy* de-
 fired no better than to be rid of him.

All the Informations being taken, and his Cause being drawn up in form, he was brought to the Parliament in order to be tryed; the Peers of the Realm had declined to assist at that melancholy Ceremony. The Chancellor had reduced the whole Charge to these five chief Articles.

I°. To have conferred with one *Picoté* of *Orleans*, a violent Leaguer, who was a Fugitive in *Flanders*, for contriving a Correspondence with the Arch-Duke, and to have given him 150 Crowns, for two Voyages he had made to *France* for that purpose.

II°. To have treated with the Duke of *Savoy*, three Days after that Prince was arrived at *Paris*, without the King's Licence, and to have offered unto him all Assistance and Service for and against every one, in certain Assurance of marrying his third Daughter.

III°. To have sent notice by *Renazé*, written with his own hand to the Governor of *St. Catherine's-Fort*; that he would bring his Majesty before the said Fort, upon such a day and such a time, that he would give him such a Sign, and let him know what Coat he should wear, and what Horse he should ride that Day, to avoid any Mistake; and that he might aim at the King, and kill him, either by firing the Cannon or by some Ambush.

IV°. To

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IV°. To have dispatched oftentimes *La Fin* Henry IV. to treat with the Duke of *Savoy* and the Count ^{1602.} of *Fuentes*, against the King's Service. ^{Pope Clement VIII}

V°. To have held secret Intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*, in the taking of *Bourg* and other Places, advising him to fall upon the King's Army, and even upon his Royal Person unawares, and to have given him several other important Advices,

The three first and the last of these Articles contained nothing else but what *Biron* had transacted before and during the King's Expedition in *Savoy*, which consequently could not be laid justly to his charge, seeing that his Majesty had granted him his most gracious Pardon at *Lyons*, for whatever was past, had not *Biron* persisted in his wicked Course; but his Obstinacy rendered him unworthy of any Favour, and obliged the King to revoke by his Letters under the Great Seal, the free Pardon he had granted him at *Lyons* about eighteen Months before.

The Marshal spoke much better to the purpose upon the Stool in the *Parliament*, than he had done before his Commissaries in the *Bastile*; he pleaded the King's former Pardon, he represented his past Services to the Crown and the Kingdom, and ascribing whatever was amiss in his Behaviour to the Violence of his Temper, he pretended that having never been beyond the Intention, Words or Writings ought not to be punished after the Severity of the Law, but rather to be ballanced with his Actions, and those great Feats whereby he had saved the State from utter Ruin. His Speech was so moving, that his Judges could not refrain from Tears; but his Crime was so well proved,

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Henry IV. proved, either by his own Confession or by his
 1602. own Writings, or by the Depositions of the
 Pope Clement VIII Witnesses, and by several other Circumstances;
 and he had abused for so long time the King's
 Patience and Forbearance, that he was unani-
 mously condemned to be beheaded:

*He is con-
 demned,
 and exe-
 cuted.* Two Days after, the Chancellor went to the
Bastile to pronounce the Sentence, and he was
 executed in the Evening in the Yard.

So died *Charles de Gonsaud* Duke of *Biron*,
 Marshal of *France*, Governor of *Burgundy*,
 one of the greatest Captains of his time in *Eu-
 rope*, illustrious for having rescued his Country
 from the *Spanish* Bondage, and for the many
 Favours and Honours which he had deservedly
 received of his Master, and no less renowned
 for his Ungratefulness; his Pride and boundless
 Ambition occasioned his Crime, and his Crime
 brought him to this shameful End. No less
 despicable in his Fall, than he had been intole-
 rable in his Grandeur; he afforded a great In-
 stance, that it is much more easy, to dare
 bravely any Dangers, even Death itself, as long
 as there remains some prospect of Escape, than
 to face it when it is unavoidable: for from the
 very Minute of his being arrested to the last
 of his Life, he behaved himself not only like
 a Madman, but also like a Coward. Equal to
 the Earl of *Essex* (who had been beheaded in
London the Year before) as to the great Ser-
 vices he had done to his Country, as to
 his Rise, and the many Favours heaped upon
 him by his Master, as to his Crime and his
 Fate; he was very widely different from him
 as to the Greatness of his Soul. He died unmar-
 ried in the fortieth Year of his Age; he left a
 Natural Son, and his Mistress big with Child (p).

By
 (p) Thuan. Lib. cxxviii. Serres Hist. de France, ibid.
 P. Mathieu Hist. de Henry IV. ibid.

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By his Death the Conspiracy was at an end: Henry IV. the Count of *Auvergne*, his most intimate Accomplise, deserved the same Punishment, but on account of his Birth, and especially in regard to the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, his Life was spared, and he was condemned to a perpetual Prison, from which the King released him two Months after.

Amongst the many Accomplices charged by *La Fin*, the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* had not been spared; and the Marquess of *Rosny*, out of Jealousy of the great Interest that the Duke had amongst the Reformed, did him all the ill Offices he could at Court, and was so unjust and unreasonable, that tho' he had been himself charged likewise by the same Deponent, tho' he had no better ground for his Suspicions than that, tho' consequently he ought to have judged of the Duke as he did of himself; nevertheless he made use of that Deposition to render that Lord suspicious to the King: nay, he went further, and had a mind to involve the good *Du Plessis* in the same Crime, and increased as much as he could by his false Insinuations the King's Ill-humour against him. This I don't charge the Marquess of *Rosny* with, but upon his own Confession in several Places of his Memoirs, Tom. II. and III.

However, the King being at *Blois*, and then at *Poitiers*, had talked with the Duke of the false Rumours which his Enemies industriously spread abroad against his own Person and Government, in order to raise Commotions in his Kingdom; to which the Duke reply'd with a great Freedom, greater, may be, than it was meet for a Subject: for he exhorted his Majesty to ease his Subjects from the heavy Taxes laid upon them, and gave him such other Ad-

Henry IV.
1602.
Pope Clement VIII

The Duke of Bouillon accused.

Henry IV. vices concerning the Reformed Churches, as
 1602. did not at all please his Majesty. Then he
 Pope Cle- asked leave to go to *Turenne*, to settle his pri-
 ment VIII vate Affairs, which he obtained ; but when he
 was recalled to come to Court and justify him-
 self of several things laid to his charge, he
 promised at first to obey, but after a second
 Thought, receiving Intelligence that his Enem-
 ies prevailed there, and that it was to be
 feared, lest they, together with the Catholics,
 would engage the King to make him serve as
 an Attonement for the Fate of the late Duke
 of *Biron*, (and indeed these Suspicions were not
 quite ill-grounded) he altered his Mind, and
 went directly to *Castres*, desiring to be tryed by
 the Chamber of the Edict, residing in that City.
 He wrote to his Majesty, and in very submis-
 sive Terms he set forth the Reasons of his Ab-
 sence, taken from the Character and the too
 great Power of his Enemies, against whom he
 inveighs most bitterly, and begs of his Majesty
 not to take amiss his Proceeding, which ought
 to be interpreted rather as an Argument of his
 Innocence than of his Guilt, considering that
 if he was conscious of any Guilt, he would
 rather have had recourse to his Majesty's Mercy,
 than to submit himself to the Judgment of a
 Court, which would be extremely severe
 against him, was he really guilty of the Treas-
 ons laid to his charge.

When the King heard that the Duke was
 gone to *Castres*, in order to be tryed by that
 Chamber, he was much displeased at it ; he
 wrote again to the Duke, ordering him to come
 without delay to Court, that there was as yet no
 occasion for his Tryal, that he desired only to
 hear his Justification from his own Mouth, and
 that if he was to be tryed, the Chamber of
Castres

Castres was incompetent. At the same time Henry IV. he forbid the said Court to take cognizance of that Affair. In so doing, his Majesty derogated from an Article of the Edict, whereby the Reformed, of what rank or quality soever, were allowed to be tried by those Chambers if they thought it proper; and the Duke of *Bouillon* resorted to that of *Castres*, as Viscount of *Turenne*, so he could not be denied with justice his Dismission to that Court. However, having presented himself voluntarily before it, he demanded and obtained an authentick Act of his Submission; But understanding that *Caumartin* was coming with the King's Order to arrest him where-ever he could be found, he set out from *Castres* and went to *Montpelier*, where he found a Provincial Assembly of the Reformed, to whom he represented his Case, and desired the Intercession of the Churches to the King, and that he might enjoy the Privilege granted by the Edict, of being tried by the Chambers of the said Edict; and declared, that lest the publick Tranquillity, which he earnestly recommended unto them, should be disturbed upon his account, he thought proper to go out of the Kingdom for a Time.

Accordingly he went to *Orange*, and took his way through *Dauphiné* without making any stay: he sent one of his Gentlemen to pay his Compliments to *Les Diguieres*; he arrived at *Geneva*, from whence he proceeded to *Heydelberg* (q).

I shall end this Year by the Relation of an Event, which was like to be fatal to the Republick of *Geneva*. The Princes of *Savoy* pretended a Right to that City, which for several Ages they

(q) Thuan. Lib. cxxviii. Vie de Du Pleſſis Mornay, liv. II. Mem. de Sully, Tom. II.

Henry IV.
1602.
Pope Clement VIII

CXXXI.
The Scandal of Geneva.

Henry IV. they had endeavoured to improve to their best
 1602. Advantage, more or less, according to the Cir-

Pope Cle- cumstances they were in, and as the times served.
 ment VIII

But not having been able to compass their Ends by open Force, especially since that City had been received under the Protection of *France*, *Charles Emanuel*, then Duke of *Savoy*, attempted to surprize it by Treachery. Though they had been included in the Treaty of *Lyons*, though the Duke of *Savoy* had sworn twice the Peace with them; nevertheless, as he never made any scruple to break his Word when he found his own Interest in so doing, he plotted to surprize it by *Escalado*; he made all his Preparations as secret as possible. The Inhabitants mistrusting some Troops that were sent into *Savoy* under the Command of *D'Albigny*, he took care to assure their Deputies, that his most sincere Intention was to observe strictly the Treaties lately made with them; and he sent *Rochette*, President of the Senate of *Chambery*, a few Days before the Execution, for to lull the Magistrates and the People by fair Words, and under the specious Pretence of a new Treaty more advantageous to *Geneva* than the former ones. In the mean while the Duke set out Post from *Turin*, on the 17th of *December*, and arrived on the 21st at a place called *La Rochette*, not far from *Geneva*, where *D'Albigny* and the Troops under his Command waited for him. In the Evening he called together all the Officers, and told them his Intention, exhorting them to behave themselves like brave Men; and lest those of *Geneva* should receive notice of his Design, he caused all the Avenues to be guarded, suffering no body to pass. *D'Albigny* received the Oath of the Troops, to die rather than not to conquer. Then he brought them
 along

along the Banks of the River *Arve*, in order ^{Henry IV.} to conceal the better their March, and being ^{1602.} arrived in a Plain called *Plein-Palaix*, just at ^{Pope Clement VIII} one of the City Gates, in the Night between the 21st and 22d of *December*, he made a halt there. Then those who were designed for Escalading marched to the Wall, well furnished with Ladders, Fascines, and Hurdles to cross the Ditches that were full of Mud, with other Implements fit for cutting Iron Bars, and breaking the Locks, and Petards to force open the Gates. Being come safe to the Foot of the Wall, they set up their Ladders against it; they were wonderfully well contrived for the purpose, for they were in several Pieces in-chased one in another, so that they could shorten or lengthen them as they pleased; they were dyed in black, that they might not be perceived in the dark, and they had Pulleys on the Top covered with coarse Cloths, to avoid the Noise in lengthening them. That done, the stoutest began to go up, to the Number of above two Hundred, and having got to the Top of the Wall, some of them lay down along the Parapet, while the others walked two by two through the Streets of the City for above an Hour, to see whether the Citizens were upon their Guard, for they intended to begin their Execution in the City only at the Break of Day. Thereupon a Centry in the Tower of the Mint hearing some Noise, gave notice thereof to his Corporal, who sent a Man to the Wall to know what was the matter. This Man seeing some armed Men coming to him, fired at them and gave the Alarm, the Centry of the Tower did the same; whereupon the Enemy seeing themselves discover'd, thought proper to begin the Attack sooner than they intended,

Henry IV. intended, and formed two Troops, one of
 1602. which went to the Gate that goes to *Plein-
 Pope Cle- Palaix*, for introducing, if they could, the
 ment VIII Body that was in that Plain. It was easy for
 them to force the Corps de Garde, which by
 the Treason of the Syndick of the Guard, con-
 sisted only of thirteen Men, one of whom un-
 derstanding what they had a mind to do, stole
 up over the Gate, and cut the Rope which
 kept the Port-cullis tied up, whereby the Pe-
 tard was rendered useleſs at that Gate. In the
 mean while, part of the Citizens, awakened by
 the Noiſe, ran out of their Houſes half dreſſed
 and half armed to that Gate, where they ſtoutly
 fought againſt the Enemy, who being at laſt
 overpowered by numbers, were obliged to
 retreat near their Ladders. The other Troop,
 which was gone to the Gate of the *Tartaffe*, was
 no more ſucceſſful; ſo that being every where
 beaten and frightened out of their wits, they
 took down their Ladders with ſuch a hurry that
 ſeveral of them choſe to leap over the Wall into
 the Ditch, and many fractured their Limbs.
 But juſt as they were in that Fright, the Citi-
 zens went to one of the Bulwarks, and fired
 the Cannon in the dark; one of them were
 levelled ſo juſt, that the Ladders were broken
 to pieces; whereat they were ſo terrified,
 that the Body which was in *Plein-Palaix*
 ſounded the Retreat, and ran away faſter than
 they came. Thirteen of thoſe that remained
 in the City, were made Priſoners, the others
 either leaped over the Wall, or were killed.
 The Council being aſſembled at Noon for de-
 liberating about the Priſoners, the Majority of
 Votes carried it for having them puniſhed like
 Highwaymen; and accordingly they were all
 hanged that very Evening, and their Heads
 ſever'd

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sever'd from their Bodies, were set upon the Wall ^{Henry IV.} with those of the others killed in the Fray, and ^{1602.} made up in all the number of sixty-seven: their ^{Pope Clement VIII} Bodies were thrown into the *Rbone*; several more were killed in the Flight, besides the wounded. The Inhabitants had about thirty wounded, and sixteen or seventeen killed, which were buried in *St. Gervais* Church-yard, with an honourable Epitaph. It is said that *Theodorus de Beza*, who was eighty-two Years old, had slept so sound that Night that he heard nothing of the Noise, and was much surpris'd in the Morning when he was brought to see the dead Bodies. He did not preach for some Years before, nevertheless, upon this Occasion, he came up into the Pulpit, and ordered the 124th Psalm to be sung, which since that time has been constantly sung upon the Anniversary of that Day, which is kept at *Geneva* as a great Festival (r).

The Duke of *Savoy* was confounded at this bad Success of his Enterprize, the Baseness whereof he endeavoured to colour the best He could by his Ambassadors to foreign Princes. King *Henry* especially resented this Action of the Duke as a high Affront put upon him, seeing that he knew, that that City was under his special Protection: he wrote to the Magistrates, to congratulate them upon their happy Deliverance, and to assure them that he would protect them with all his Might against every Enemy whatever; and he sent orders to the Governors of the bordering Provinces to afford them all the Assistance they could: he sent word likewise to the Duke of *Savoy*, that if he disturbed any further the Peace of that City,

he

(r) Thuan. Lib. cxxix. Vie du Connetable de Les Diguières, Liv. VII. ch. 4. Spon Hist. de Geneva, Liv. iii. But they differ something one from another.

Henry IV. he would have to do with him. At last, by
 1602. the Mediation of some of the *Switz* Can-
 Pope Cle- tons, the publick Tranquillity was restored by
 ment VIII the Treaty concluded at *St. Julien*, in the
 Month of *July* 1603 (s).

The Queen of *France* had been delivered of
 a Daughter in *November* preceeding, which was
 afterwards married to King *Philip* of *Spain*.

1603. Now the Duke of *Bouillon* having fled from
 CXXXII. the Kingdom in the manner above said, the
 The Reformed Deputies of the Churches that attended the
 France in Court presented an humble Petition to the King
 tercede for in the Fugitive's behalf, beseeching his Ma-
 the Duke of jesty to consider the Duke's Innocence, and not
 Bouillon. to hearken too easily to the Calumnies of his
 Enemies, nor to believe that a Man of his
 Character and of his Religion should have plotted
 with the *Spaniards* against the Government;
 and to see, according to his wonted Prudence
 and Equity, whether he was not accused out of
 Hatred to his Religion; and to grant that he
 might be tryed by any one of the Chambers ap-
 pointed, by his Edict, for that purpose; and
 not to indulge so far the Wickedness of those
 who desired no better than to sprinkle the Altars
 of *Rome* with innocent Blood, as a Burnt-Of-
 fering of a sweet smelling to them.

The King having sent to *Du Plessis* for his
 Advice, that great Man answered, with his
 wonted Freedom and Sincerity, almost in the
 same Terms; and represented to his Majesty, in
 a Memorial written purposely on that Subject,
 ' That it was very certain, that did his Ma-
 ' jesty refuse flatly the said Duke to be tryed
 ' by a mixt Chamber, according to his own
 ' Edict, he would afford him a Pretence to
 ' make most part of the Reformed believe, that
 ' there

(s) Thuanus & Spon, *ibid*.

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‘ there was a Design laid to oppress his Inno-^{Henry IV.}
 ‘ cency, by denying him, in a Cause of such ^{1603.}
 ‘ Importance, what was granted even to those ^{Pope Cle-}
 ‘ of the lowest Rank: considering above all, ^{ment VIII.}
 ‘ that it was already a very difficult Task to
 ‘ make it believed that he had really plotted
 ‘ with the late Duke of *Biron*, who took, for
 ‘ Pretence of his Rebellion, the Extirpation of
 ‘ that Religion which he professed himself; and
 ‘ that he had consented to the Increase of the
 ‘ King of *Spain’s* Grandeur, which is totally
 ‘ detrimental to the said Religion, and espe-
 ‘ cially to Prince *Maurice*, Brother-in-law to
 ‘ the said Duke of *Bouillon*. These Reasons
 ‘ are already in the Mouths of every one, against
 ‘ the pretended Conspiracies laid to the charge
 ‘ of the said Duke.

‘ They add farther, that this Prosecution is
 ‘ carried on at the Pope’s Instigation, who
 ‘ being much displeased at the Execution of the
 ‘ Duke of *Biron*, if it is not covered with
 ‘ another of the like Quality, and of a contrary
 ‘ Persuasion, pretended to be involved in the
 ‘ same Crime; whereby it appears that his
 ‘ Majesty ought to take care not to give the
 ‘ Duke of *Bouillon* Matter to multiply a Pre-
 ‘ tence, (that of his Flight was the unjust
 ‘ Charge against him, and the Fear of sinking
 ‘ under the great Power of his Enemies, was a
 ‘ new Pretence of his) ‘ lest it should breed
 ‘ some Troubles, certainly fatal to those who
 ‘ shall be engaged in them, but may be, very
 ‘ unseasonable at this time, full of Suspicions
 ‘ and Jealousies as well inward as outward.’

Then he advis’d his Majesty to take the
 Duke at his Word, and to have him tried by
 one of the Mixt Chambers granted by the
 Edict; or at least, that the said Duke of
Bouillon

Henry IV. *Bouillon* should have an Interview at his own
 1603. Request, and confer with the Marshal *D'Ornano*
Pope Cle- and some others of the King's own Appoint-
ment VIII ment, that should be thoroughly informed of that
 Affair (t).

At the same time the Reformed of *Languedoc* sent a Petition to the King tending to the same effect, most humbly beseeching his Majesty to grant the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was ready to take his Tryal before impartial Judges, that he might be judged by one of the Courts appointed by the Edict for that Purpose. But these Petitions and Sollicitations were very ill received at Court, where the Duke was to be deemed guilty right or wrong, at any rate; and *Rosny* missed not so fair an Opportunity to humble his Antagonist.

Queen Elizabeth does the same.

In the mean time, the King was in a great perplexity lest *Queen Elizabeth*, understanding that Affair, should conceive an ill Opinion of him, which might prejudice his Intèrest as to the other Affairs which he negotiated with her; therefore he sent Orders to *De Beaumont*, his Embassador at that Court, to set forth before her Majesty the Crimes laid to the charge of the said Duke, and to let her know that he was unwilling to determine any thing without knowing her Opinion about that Affair, and what she would advise him to do. But the Queen had too much Wit and Reason to be imposed upon by such Compliments; nevertheless, as she would not forsake a Lord for whom she had a great Value, and whom she thought to be calumniated only on account of his Religion, she ordered her Embassador at the Court of *France* to give thanks to the King for these Tokens of Friendship and Confidence of

(t) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. III. p. 32, &c.

of his in consulting her about that Affair, &c. ^{Henry IV 1603.} and to tell him that the Charges preferred ^{Pope Clement VIII} against the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Evidences whereby they were supported, were altogether very weak, and could not stand with so many Proofs he had given to his Majesty of the Sincerity of his Zeal and Fealty, even in the hardest of the Times. Then she goes on Article by Article; to shew forth the Inconsistence of each of them, with the known Character and the true Interest of the said Lord. She thought it very extraordinary, and altogether suspicious, that the Duke of *Bouillon* was either guilty or innocent; if guilty, a strange thing it was that he should be the only Person prosecuted for it, seeing that there were many Accomplices, in which case it was very plain that this Prosecution was carried on out of hatred against his Person and Religion; if innocent, it behoved the Prudence of the King to see how the Honour and Reputation of a Lord of that Quality could be repaired after such a Blemish had been cast upon it. Therefore she was very sorry that his Majesty had not taken another Course with him from the beginning, &c. &c.

The King was not at all pleased with the *English* Ambassador's Freedom; nevertheless, he thought proper to dissemble for this time. A Libel was then published against the Duke, which was nothing better than a nonsensical Production of some impudent and base Calumniator; for he charged him with being the Author of the Plot for which the Earl of *Essex* had suffered about two Years before; with having solicited the *States* of the *Low-Countries* in behalf of the *Spaniards*; with having plotted to dismember the Kingdom, for which purpose he meditated to turn Catholick, and

Henry IV. was to have *Dauphiné* for his share ; that he
 1603.
 Pope Cle- was one of *Biron's* Accomplices, and had de-
 ment VIII vised the King's Death ; and such other like
 { putrid Stuff, the Falshood whereof was obvi-
 ous to every common Understanding, and it
 was very easy for *Bouillon* to justify fully his
 Innocence in that respect.

This is summarily the Account which *Tbu-
 anus* gives us of the beginning of that knotty
 Affair, in the four last Pages of the 128th
 Book of his History ; and we shall see under
 the Year 1606, that he took him to be inno-
 cent of the Crimes and Misdemeanours laid to
 his Charge.

I have thought proper to dwell a little longer
 upon this and the Duke of *Biron's* Affair than
 I would have done, had it not been that *Rapin*
 gives us another notion of them both, than *Tbu-
 anus* who was present : for while he extenuates
Biron's Crime, and seems to insinuate that it
 was occasioned by the King's Neglect of him ;
 he represents *Bouillon* as really guilty of the
 Crimes laid to his charge. ‘ But the Marshal
 ‘ of *Bouillon*, says he, who was also of the Num-
 ‘ ber (of *Biron's* Accomplices)’ (A VERY BOLD
 STROKE INDEED ! Seeing that there was no
 Proof against that Lord, and that *Rapin* him-
 self had no better Voucher for what he says
 upon this Subject than *Camden*, whose History,
 such as it is now extant, cannot be compared,
 as to Veracity, with *Tbuanus*. But let us
 go on) ‘ thought it safest to withdraw into
 ‘ Germany, from whence he wrote to *Elizabeth*,
 ‘ desiring her to intercede for him. The King
 ‘ of France wrote to her also, acquainting her
 ‘ with the Conspiracy, and asking her Advice
 ‘ concerning the Marshal *De Bouillon*. The
 ‘ Queen answered, she could not advise him,
 ‘ till

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 403

till she certainly knew whether the Marshal Henry IV. were guilty: She warned him also to take care that it was not a *Spanish* Artifice, to cause him to entertain Suspensions of his best Subjects. But *Henry* not considering the Marshal as such, told the *English* Ambassador, that the Queen his Mistress had a better Opinion of him than he deserved; since it was certain he was concerned in the Earl of *Essex's* Plot, and had not even disown'd it (v). 1603.
Pope Clement VIII

Amongst other things that I could observe upon this Relation, I shall only insist upon these three Particulars.

I°. That neither the King of *France*, or the Queen of *England*, wrote one to another upon this Occasion, but they charged their respective Ambassadors to make Representations according to the Instructions that were sent unto them.

II°. That the Queen in her Answer, went a great deal farther to get the said Marshal's Discharge than *Rapin* insinuates; for she told the King by her Ambassador, *That the Proofs for supporting the Charge against him, were very far from being as clear as Light in the Mid-day.* As *Rapin* did not think proper to relate the Queen's Answer at full length, he ought at least to have pointed out of it what was more strong, and what was directly to the Discharge of the Marshal, and not wholly and singly what leaves him exposed to Suspicion.

III°. King *Henry* was not a Lyar, much less a Calumniator: this last he would have been proved, had he told the Ambassador as *Rapin* will have it, THAT IT WAS CERTAIN, *BOUILLON* WAS CONCERNED IN THE EARL OF *ESSEX's*

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PLOT,

(v) *Rapin's History of England*, by Tindal, Vol. II. pag. 155. Edit. Feld

Henry IV. PLOT, AND HAD NOT EVEN DISOWNED IT.

1603. How could that be, and that it should be perfectly unknown to Queen *Elizabeth*? This was two Years after the Earl's Execution; how came it to pass that the Duke of *Bouillon* was not once named, not only in the Earl's, but in his Accomplices Tryal? Had the Queen suspected him the least in the World to have had any hand in the said Plot, would not this heavy Charge from a great King, for whom she had so great a Value, have confirmed her first Suspicions? and in such a Case would she have been pleased to become the Patroness of the Accused, and plead for his Innocency? Furthermore, had he not disowned the Charge before, supposing that it had been laid upon him when the Discovery was still fresh, how could he be so bold now as to say in his Answer to the Libel above-mentioned, *That as to the Earl of Essex, no such thing had been said or thought of ever before*, and to appeal as he did to Queen *Elizabeth* her self? But I am afraid lest *Rapin* has mistaken the above said Libel for the King's Answer; had he quoted his Authority for this, we might have considered whether it was reputable or not, in the mean while, I think that we shall do well to rely on *Thuanus*'s Testimony, who was an Eye and Ear-witness of this Transaction, till we could get a better Information if possible.

CXXXIII This Plea of Queen *Elizabeth* for the Duke of *Bouillon*, was one of the last, if not the last Service which that Princess did for the Protestant Cause; for about the End of *January*, she began to feel the first Attack of the Distemper which brought her at length to her Grave; she languished 'till the 24th of *March*, O. S. when she expired in the Sentiments of the greatest

greatest Piety, Resignation to the Will of Almighty God, and Confidence in the Mercy of God, thro' Christ; she was 69 Years Six Months old, according to *Thuanus*, and seven Days more according to the Reverend Mr. *Tindal*; whereof she had reigned, not 45 Years and more, as the first says, but 44 Years, 4 Months and 8 Days (u). I shall add nothing to the great Character which *Thuanus* and *Rapin* gave of that most excellent Princess, the Pattern of all Princes who are animated with this noble Desire of being deemed the Delights of their People and the Glory of their own Crown.

King *Henry* being in *Lorain* in the Month of *February*, received Letters from *Frederic, Elector Palatine*, in behalf of the Duke of *Bouillon* his Brother-in-law; and it appears, by his Answer, that he was not persuaded of the Guilt of that Lord, but that he entertain'd only bare Suspicions against him, whereof he desired he would personally justify himself.

The Duke of *Roban*, so famous in the next Reign, began this Year to be in great Credit at Court and in the Reformed Party; the King had a great Value for him because of his bright Parts, he owned him for his Cousin by his Mother's side, and had been considered, for that Reason, as next heir to the Crown of *Navarre*, before the King had any lawful Issue, his Majesty, desiring to unite more strictly with the Protestant Princes, designed to marry him with the Daughter of *Charles of Sudermania*, Father to the great *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Swedeland*. This *Charles* was a declared Protestant, and had wrested the Crown from *Sigismund* his Nephew, who was a very zealous Catholic, and who

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(u) *Thuan. Lib. cxxix.*

Henry IV
1603.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

CXXXIV
The Elector
Palatine
writes in
Bouillon's
Behalf.

CXXXV.
The Duke
of Rohan's
Prefer-
ment.

Henry IV. endeavoured to extirpate the Protestant Religion out of his *Northern* Dominions. This ^{1603.} Pope Clement VIII. Marriage was not effected. This young Lord was made Duke and Peer this Year, and took the Oath on the seventh of *August*; a few Years after, the King married him to the eldest Daughter of his Favourite the Marquess of *Rôny*, who was created Duke of *Sully*, and Peer of *France*, in 1605. This Lady was as zealous for her Religion, as her Father was cold and indifferent, and being assisted by her Mother-in-law, she got such an Ascendant over her Husband, that she governed him almost as she pleased.

CXXXVI It was also in this Year that the *Jesuits* obtained leave to return into *France*. Father ^{restored in} *Magio* had visited the King at *Lyons*, in the Pope's Name, during the War of *Savoy*, where his Majesty had given him Assurances of his Good-will. And this Year as he passed thro' *Verdun* in *Lorraine*, on his return to *Paris*, the *Jesuits* who had a College in the first City, came to pay their respects to his Majesty, and Father *Charles La Tour*, speaking in their Name, most humbly besought not to be deem'd as comprehended in the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, whereby all the *Jesuits* were expelled out of the Kingdom. The King received them very graciously, and granted their Request, provided that the Youth that were at *Pont à Mousson*, at School, should be transferred to *Verdun*, and dismissed them with other Tokens of his Good-will. Now being told by *Varenne*, who supported them with all his Interest, that the King intended not only to preserve their College of *Verdun*, but likewise to restore them all over his Kingdom; they held an Assembly at *Pont à Mousson*, and by

Varenne's Advice, they sent a solemn De-^{Henry IV.}
tation to his Majesty, who was then at ^{1603.}
^{Pope Cle-}
^{ment VIII}
1572. They were introduced by the said *Va-*
ment, and in a set Speech made by the said
Tour, they moved the King to promise them
their Re-establishment in *France*. The *Jesuits*
mand and *Cotton*, were ordered to come to
Paris; *Cotton* by his flattering Conversation,
his Sermons adapted to the Taste of the
Court, by his profligate Hypocrisy, wherein
was the most expert of any of his Gown,
possessed himself of the King's Affection,
so he got immediately into the highest de-
gree of his Favour. They were as I have said,
supported by *La Varenne*, who by his Com-
plaisance in carrying on the King's amorous In-
trigues, and by the Interest of the late Duchess
Beaufort, had raised himself from the Kitchen
employment to that of the King's Council,
and had a greater share in Affairs than a great
many more worthy Men; besides him, by the
like of *Espernon*, *Villeroy*, and *De Gevres*,
and by all the *Spanish* Faction, at the Head
whereof the Queen was. But every true
Catholic had such an Aversion to that Re-
establishment, that the King met with no small
difficulties before he could obtain it. How-
ever, the King being gone to *Rouën*, caused
an Act to pass in the Parliament of that City
for their Recall, and sealed with the Great Seal
the Month of *September*. But being brought
before the Parliament of *Paris*, it met with great
oppositions, which could not be removed till
the beginning of 1604, when the Parliament,
withstanding the very moving Speech of the
first President *Du Harlay*, to deter the King
from his Resolution, was, as one may say,
constrained to publish and register the Edict

Henry IV. of their Re-establishment on certain Conditions, in the places wherein they were actually, or had been in possession before their Expulsion, upon certain Conditions however which were thought very necessary at that time, but which the good Fathers have found means to abrogate one way or another by the lapse of time (x).

1603.
Pope Cle-
ment VIII

It was then publicly said, that the Proceedings of the Synod of *Gap* had much forwarded that Affair, which otherwise might have been spun out a longer time. But the Affront that had been put there upon the *Pope*, in making it to pass as an Article of Faith that he was the *Antichrist*, had laid a Necessity on the King to break through all Obstacles raised against the Re-establishment of the *Jesuits*, to the end that he might by this means appease the *Pope*, who was much offended, and who besides that earnestly desired that Re-establishment, and had even inserted it as one of the sixteen Conditions of the King's Absolution.

CXXXVII That Synod of *Gap*, in *Dauphiné*, was held the first of *October*, and was the seventeenth National Synod. The Rev. Mr. *Daniel Charnier*, was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Mr. *Jeremiab Ferrier*, Pastor and Professor of Divinity at *Nîmes*, Assessor. That Synod was one of the most celebrated that ever the Reformed held in *France*, several important Matters were brought there upon the Carpet. Amongst others, the Query concerning the *Antichrist*, who it was? The Reformed, and all the Protestants in general, agreed upon this Point, that the *Pope* is the *Antichrist*, foretold by *St. Paul* and *St. John*, and in their Sermons and Writings, they applied to him all the Characters

(x) Thuan. Lib. cxxix. & cxxxii. Serres Invent. gen. de l'Hist. de France, Tom. II. pag. 160, in folio.

acters by which these Holy Writers have de- Henry IV.
scribed him. The injustice done to *Du Plessis*, ^{1603.}
at the Conference above related, stuck to the *Pope* Cle-
Hearts of the Reformed, and inflamed their ment VIII
Zeal, because the Pretence thereof had been,
that he had called the *Pope Antichrist*, in his
Book: the fanatical Notion of the approach-
ing Downfal of *Babylon*,^{*} was in the Heads of
most of them; the Pulpits resounded almost
with nothing else. Indeed tho' we profess a
more pure Belief, yet we are Men as much as
any other. But the Imprudence of *Du Ferrier*,
one of the Pastors of the Church, and Pro-
fessor of Divinity in the Royal College at
Nimes, occasioned all this Uproar; he was not
satisfied with the general Assertion that the
Pope was the *Antichrist*, but he named expressly
in some publick Theses, *Clement VIII.* then
sitting. The Parliament of *Tboulouse* took
Cognizance of this, and summoned him to ap-
pear in three Days before them; then they de-
creed against him as a seditious Person, and a
Disturber of the Publick Peace, and ordered
his Theses to be burnt by the common Exe-
cutioner. But *Du Ferrier*, unwilling to expose
himself to the Judgment of that merciless Court,
sued at the Chamber of *Castres*.

This was enough to supersede the Proceed-
ings of the Parliament, but the Professor sought
for a better Support, for which purpose he and
his Friends thought proper, to make his pri-
vate Affair, an Affair of the whole Party;
wherein he succeeded better than it was requi-
site for the Reputation of our Churches in
France. He obtained, that the Matter should
be debated in this Synod, and to have his Doc-
trine approved by it. It was not very difficult
for *Du Ferrier* to obtain his End, being ad-
joined

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Henry IV. joined in the Moderatorship to the Rev. Mr. ^{1603.} *Chamier*, who, tho' a Man without comparison of greater Learning, of more Solidity, and who acted by quite contrary Principles than *Ferrier*, and was a Man of strict Piety and Virtue, was however very hot upon the matter. It was decreed that an Article should be inserted in the Confession of Faith, whereby they declared that the *Pope* was properly that *Antichrist*, and the *Son of Perdition*, foretold in the Word of God, the *Whore clothed with Scarlet*, sitting on the Seven Mountains, and the *Great City*; who had his Reign over the Kings of the Earth, and that they did expect that the Lord, as he has promised, and begun the overthrowing of him by the Spirit of his Mouth, will finally destroy him by the Brightness of his coming.

Pope Clement VIII

That Article was to be inserted immediately after the Thirtieth, which treats of the Equality amongst the Pastors of the Church. But the King having been informed of what they were transacting, was extremely provoked against them: that was properly to upbraid him with worshipping the *Beast*, &c. The Clergy and the *Pope's* Nuncio made very heavy Complaints about it.

I shall not take upon me to determine whether this Proposition, The Bishop of *Rome*, or the *Pope*, is that very *Antichrist*, that *Son of Perdition* foretold by the Sacred Penmen, &c. can be looked upon as an Article of Faith necessary in order to Salvation, being A W E D by the INFALLIBLE DECISIONS of two venerable Synods, this of *Gap*, and the next of *Roche*, who, very likely, had found the Decision in some Bible which I have never seen, or else they would not have contradicted one of the

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 411

the Fundamental Articles of the Reformation, Henry IV, whereby we are taught not to admit any thing ^{1603.} in Religion, as an Article of Faith necessary in ^{Pope Cle- ment VIII} order to Salvation, but what is expressly warranted by the Scripture. For if I do not find in that Sacred Book, that the *Pope* is that *Antichrist*, that *Son of Perdition* which he meant, I am not obliged to believe, as an Article of Faith necessary to Salvation, that the *Pope* is that *Antichrist*; I confess that I found in the *Pope* so many Characters of the *Antichrist*, that if he is not the Person foretold by *St. Paul*, at least he seems unto me to be very much like him; but for taking my Oath that I sincerely believe him to be the Person, that I cannot do without an express and clear Revelation from God.

But now in the Capacity of an History Writer, I shall ask whether, considering the Circumstances wherein the Reformed were then in *France*, they ought in good and true Policy to give such an Offence to the whole Catholick Party, and to affront a *Pope* who had been favourable unto them as far as they could expect from a *Pope*? We must be zealous for our Religion, it is true, but our Zeal must be prudent, and always be quickened by Love and Charity. They were so tender themselves, when they were reviled by any Nickname in private as well as in publick, that they brought their Complaints to the King, and required Satisfaction: What! did they think that the Catholicks were grown insensible, and that they would tamely bear with being treated as Worshippers of the *Son of Perdition*? The Edict of *Nantz* had provided against all manner of Revilings one against another: What! did they think that this Prohibition regarded only the Catholicks, and not themselves? But *Du Ferrier*

Henry IV. ^{1603.} rier was put in trouble for asserting that Pro-
 Pope Cle- position in his Theses. But why did *Du Fer-*
 ment VIII rier go further than his Predecessors had been?

He and the other Ministers who were in the
 Case, could they not attack the *Pope's* Doc-
 trine, and let his Person alone? And if they
 were unjustly dealt with, could they not address
 themselves to the King? But that Doctrine was
 not new, it had been taught in Books, and
 preached in Pulpits from the very beginnings of
 the Reformation. That is very true, and ne-
 vertheless, our Reformers and their immediate
 Successors, were so moderate and humble, or
 prudent, or both together, that though the
Popes who sat in their times were some of the
 most profligate Wretches that had ever been
 known, though they groaned under one of
 the fiercest Persecutions that ever was, never-
 theless it never came into their heads to insert
 in their Confession of Faith, this Article, *That*
the Pope was the Antichrist, the Son of Perdition;
 they trod in the Steps of *Michael* the Arch-
 angel, when contending with the *Devil*, he
 disputed about the Body of *Moses*, and durst not
 bring against him, (*How Devil soever he was*)
 a railing Accusation, but said, *The Lord rebuke*

*Jude 9. *thee.* * But other foreign Churches had this
 Article inserted in their Confession of Faith,
 why shall we not have the same Liberty? It
 may be so that some other Churches had this
 Article couched in their Confession of Faith,
 though I would not be positive, because I have
 never seen it in any before. But I would ask,
 were they in the right in that respect, to give
 out as an Article of Faith necessary to Salvation,
 what is purely problematical? and besides that,
 what was agreeable to their Circumstances, was it so
 as to the Circumstances of the Churches in *France*,
 and

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and a little more Moderation, would it not a great deal better suit their Condition than such Heats and Animosities about things of this nature.

Henry IV.

1603.

Pope Clement VIII

So far I am impartial, but it may be, that the Reader waits too long for the Conclusion of this Affair. The King sent for the General Deputies of the Churches residing at Court, and bid them to write to their Principals; and to let them know in his Name, that if that Decree of the Synod was executed, he would stop the selling of the Bibles, New Testaments, and Psalms, wherein that Article should be inserted in their Confession of Faith, and prosecute criminally the Printers thereof. That this would occasion much Trouble, whereof they should be themselves the Authors, but that all the Evil would fall upon their own Heads. That they ought to improve this Warming, and to answer without delay, and he bid them to shew him the Answers they should receive. He wrote almost in the same Strain to the Lord *Du Pleffis*, soliciting him to divert by his Prudence that Evil wherewith the Churches were threatened: This Lord answered *Villeroy* Secretary of State, That he might assure his Majesty, that this Resolution of the Synod proceeded neither from any ill Intention of wilfully offending his Majesty, nor from any private Suggestion; that the Parliament of *Tboulouse* had been the Occasion thereof, by interpreting for a Sedition against the Edict some Theses in Divinity, which had been so many times asserted in all the Reformed Churches; that if a Stop was put to that Prosecution, it would be an easy matter to heal the rest. At the same time, for preventing all manner of Disagreement between the several Letters which the Churches were to send to Court, he sent the Deputies a Copy of

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Henry IV. of an Answer, whereupon he thought proper
^{1603.}
Pope C. that the said Churches should model their own,
meant VIII to the end that they might appear unanimous
upon that matter. But, let it be said with
respect due to that great and worthy Man, he
had undertook to plead for a bad Cause, no
wonder if he don't argue so consequentially on
this Occasion as he doth in others ; for an In-
stance, he pleads for the same Liberty upon
that Article, as was granted them by the Edict
upon others ; and yet he pretends that this
was no new thing for them, that the Catho-
licks knew what opinion of the *Pope* they did
entertain. All that is wrong, the Catholics
knew very well that the Reformed held the
Pope for the *Antichrist*, that they preached and
taught that Doctrine in their Sermons, and in
their Books, that is true ; but they knew too
that they had never as yet attempted to assert
it so publickly in their Academies in *France*,
much less to insert it in their Confession of
Faith, that was quite a new thing, for which
they could not claim the Liberty granted them
by the Edict, which could respect only the
Articles of Faith then extant at the time of
publishing the said Edict, and not those which
they should be pleased to insert from time to
time, especially if they were of so publick a
Nature as should reflect against the Govern-
ment, and give Offence to the greatest part of
the Kingdom. That very same Edict had pro-
vided, as already said, against that, by forbid-
ding all the Subjects of either Religion, to in-
veigh against one another. However, his Ma-
jesty having seen the several Answers of the
Churches, who by *Du Plessis's* prudent Forecast,
were unanimous, was graciously pleased to order
his Attorney-General to withdraw his Prosecu-
tion ;

tion; and the Article was not inserted for that time ^{Henry IV.} in the Confessions of Faith, that were printing ^{1603.} at the end of the Bibles, New Testaments and ^{Pope Clement VIII.} Psalms; only it was then inserted in some ~~Confessions~~ Confessions printed abroad without the Kingdom (y).

Though King James had no better Opinion of the Pope than the Reformed of France, nevertheless he thought that this Synodical Proceeding was very much out of season, and ordered the Reverend Mr. *De la Fontaine*, Minister of the *Walloon Church* at London, to write to the Lord *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, and altogether to desire him to explain what the Synod had meant when they declared that by the Word *Super-intendant* in the thirty-second Article of their Confession, they did not understand any Superiority of one Pastor above another; for it had been misrepresented to his *Britannick Majesty*, as if the Senate condemned twelfthly the Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church of *England*. After having answered to the first Article, *Du Plessis* declared upon the second, that the Synod had no such meaning at all, that they knew very well that the Equality or Unequality might be very well tolerated in the Church Government, provided the one should be without Confusion, and the other without Tyranny.

That Synod likewise took into their Consideration, Dr. *Piscator's* Opinion concerning our Justification, which he ascribed only to the Imputation of Christ's Sufferings and Death, and not to his passive and active Obedience; and Letters were directed unto him to desire him to

(y) Thuanus Lib. cxxix. Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. ii. p. 296, &c. Memoires de Du Plessis, Tom. ii. ad Ann. 1603, & 1604.

Henry IV. to desist from his Opinion. That Affair was
 1605. not terminated till the next National Synod
 Pap. Ce. at *Rocheb.*, as we shall mention in the Year
 1607.

They condemned all private Ordination and Imposition of Hands, and ordered a perfect Uniformity to be observed in that respect in all the Churches in *France*. They enacted that for the future, they should not call their Religion the *Pretended Reformed Religion*, deciding that it was against their Conscience, and by the King's special Licence, they were allowed to stile themselves *those of the Religion Reformed according to the Terms of the Edict*, in the publick Deeds, &c.

They received Letters from the Elector *Palatine* in the Duke of *Bouillon's* behalf, and answered them; whereat the King was much displeased, and even threatned to deprive them of the Liberty of meeting. They also receiv'd a Petition from the Brethren of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, exiled for their Religion, and resolved to most humbly recommend their Case to his Majesty by their general Deputies, and to write upon the same account to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Lord of *Les Diguieres*; they wrote also to those of the said Marquisate, who had abjured their Religion for avoiding Persecution; exhorting them to a thorough Repentance: As also to the Brethren of the Valley of *Barcelona*, who craved Advice how to behave themselves under their Apprehensions of being deprived of their Religious Liberty by the said Duke of *Savoy*, and assured them of all Offices of Christian Charity. They wrote also to the Universities of *England*, *Scotland*, *Leyden*, *Geneva*, *Heydelberg*, *Basil* and *Herborn*, about Dr. *Piscator's* Opinion, desiring them to join with them

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them in the Censure passed against it. They ^{Henry IV.} desired likewise the said Universities, and some ^{1603.} private persons to concur with them in procur- ^{Pope Cle- ment VIII} ing an Union, at least external, with the *Lutheran* Churches, which indeed was effected in some Measure, as we shall say under the next Year. They made several other good and prudent Regulations as to the Discipline, and having confirmed the Lord of *St. Germain Mon-roy*, and Mr. *Des Bordes*, in the Office of Deputies General of the Churches for the two next Years, and settled their Accounts of the Moneys paid by his Majesty for the Use of the said Churches, they ended their Sessions the twenty-third of *October* (2).

King *James I.* having succeeded to the Crown ^{cxxxviii} of *England* after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, ^{The Mar- quesi of} King *Henry* thought proper to secure early ^{Rosni sent} that Prince to his Interest, for which reason he ^{Ambassa- dor to Eng- land.} sent the Marquess of *Rosni* as his Ambassador Extraordinary to *England*, not only to congratulate his Majesty upon his happy Accession to the Crown of *England*, and to ask the Continuation of the Friendship that had subsisted between *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, and to renew the defensive Alliance; but also and especially to sound how that Prince stood affected towards the *United Provinces*, whether he would freely continue to assist them; if he was not in that Disposition, to carry himself prudently, and not to open unto him his Majesty's secret Designs as to the *House of Austria*; but if he found him well-disposed, he had Orders to declare unto him the Ways and Means how to humble that formidable Power, and to reduce it into the Limits of *Spain*, and of its hereditary Countries in *Germany*; for which

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end

(2) *Pierre Mathieu*, Liv. vi. 5^e Narration. *Quick's* Synodicon

Henry IV. end a League might be formed, wherein Denmark and Swedeland should be admitted, which would attack at first the *Low Countries*, and then the *Indies*, which should be shared between the Confederates: then at the same time they might raise a powerful Party in *Germany*, for snatching the Empire out of the hands of that House. He had orders to make some other Demands relating to the Liberty of Trade between the two Nations, and to complain of the Plunders which the *English* made upon the *French* in a piratical way, having seized on above three Millions of Livres of *French* Ships since the Peace of *Vervins*.

The Ambassador succeeded well enough in his Negotiation as to the defensive Alliance: he tells us in his Memoirs, that tho' he had express Orders from the King his Master, to appear in Mourning with all his Retinue, at his first Audience; nevertheless, being forewarned that he would disoblige the King, who would doubtless look upon this Affectation as a Reproach, for not going himself into Mourning for the Queen, he was obliged to comply. After his return to *France*, he was made Governor of *Poitou*, to watch the Duke of *La Tremouille's* Motions, who was strangely suspected at Court, tho' without any just Ground (a).

1604. At the beginning of this Year the Reformed in *France* had a great Loss to sustain by the CXXXIX Death of *Catharina* of *Bourbon*, Duchess of The Duke's death of *Bar*, and Sister to the King: that Princess desired so earnestly to be with Child, that she mistook the least Appearances for the Reality, so that it happened that feeling an extraordinary Swelling in her Womb, caused either by the bigness of a Moon-calf, or by a Tympany, her

(a) *Memoires du Duc de Sully*, Tom. ii. ch. 16, 17. &c.

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her Physicians persuaded her easily that she was with Child, and having such a Notion, she absolutely refused to take any Physick, or to apply any Remedy proper to remove that Swelling, which came at last to an Inflammation; and even then she absolutely refused to take any thing, tho' Dr. *Lawrence*, the King her Brother's Physician, which he had sent as one of the most expert in the whole Kingdom, assured her Royal Highness that her Distemper proceeded from quite a different Case than she fancied: yet she persisted in her own Notion to the last, recommending her Children to her Father-in-Law and her Husband, and saying that she was very willing to die, if that survived her. At last she was seized with a Fever, and died in the greatest Misery the thirteenth of *February*. She was one of the best Princesses of her time, either as to her publick or private Character. Had the King her Brother followed the Directions of Queen *Jane* their Mother, and married her as soon as she was of Age to be married, as he had many Opportunities to do it, very likely he would have saved to himself, as well as to her many Troubles and Vexations, especially if he had accepted of the Match with the King of *Scotland*, which was proposed by Queen *Elizabeth* her self. She had much to suffer for her Religion, since the King's Reconciliation with the See of *Rome*; several Conferences were held in her Presence between some of the best Divines of both Parties; but she would never suffer Error to triumph over the Truth, through her Connivance; and she chose to be exposed to the Resentment of her Brother and her own Husband, rather than to do any thing against her Conscience. The Pope's Dispensation for her Marriage arrived at *Nancy* but a few

Henry IV.
1604.
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. days after her Death. She was buried at *Versailles* by her Mother's side. King Henry was deeply affected with that Loss; the Remembrance of his ill Usage to her increased his Sorrows. He received the Compliments of all the Foreign Ministers upon that melancholy Occasion, the Pope's Nuncio excepted. That Minister was much puzzled, not knowing how to behave himself on this Occasion: for that Princess having constantly lived, and being dead in the Communion of the Reformed Church, he thought that it would be a Disparagement to his Master's Authority, did he carry himself like others; nevertheless, having maturely considered what he had to do, he took a middle Way, whereby he thought he could perform his Duty in this respect without giving Offence to the Pope; he came to Court, and being admitted to the King's Audience, he told his Majesty, that amidst that General Mourning of the Court, he was affected with a quite different feeling from the others; for while the King and his Friends lamented the Loss of his Sister's Body, he wailed for the Salvation of her Soul, which was in great Danger. At this the King being highly offended, answered lively, that he thought the Grace of God to have been sufficient, even at the last breath of her Life, to carry her into Eternal Bliss, and to admit her into the Society of the Blessed Spirits (b).

CXL. A Thing happend this Year, which made a great Noise both at Court and in the City. *Querries proposed by the Jesuit Peter Cotton, to a possessed Maid.* *Hadriana Du Fresne*, a young Girl born at *Gerbigny*, near *Amiens*, pretending to be possessed, was brought to *Paris*, she was shewn in the *Bernardins-Street*, where she lodged, and was also

also frequently brought to the Monastery of *St. Henry IV.*
Vitor for the same purpose; a vast Number of People resorted there every day, no less
 of People resorted there every day, no less than had some Years before for *Martha Brof-*
here: amongst others, the Jesuit *Peter Cotton* ^{1604. Pope Clement VIII}
 the King's Confessor went to exorcise her; and
 whereas he was very curious, or for some other
 Reasons, he took this Opportunity to inquire
 of her about many things which he desired to
 know, and for easing his own Memory, he
 set down in Writing seventy-one Queries,
 whereupon he desired to be thoroughly satisf-
 fied, some of them were concerning the King's
 Conversion, and Length of Life, whether the
 first was sincere, and the second long, or not?
 Some others concerned the State; some the
 Reformed, desiring to know the best way to
 convert or destroy them; some were learned
 such as these, Whether Languages came from
 God? Which was the plainest Text of the
 Scripture to prove Purgatory and Invocation of
 Saints? How all the Animals could be con-
 tained in the Ark of *Noah*? Who were the
 Sons of God who fell in love with the Daugh-
 ters of Men? Whether the Serpent walked
 upon his Feet before the Fall of *Adam*? How
 long our first Parents remained in *Paradise*?
 Whom are those seven Spirits before the Throne
 of God? and such other like Queries. Some
 others respected himself, and some his Society.
 He had put that Sheet of Paper, written with
 his own Hand, in a Book of Exorcism which
 he had borrowed of a Friend, and when he
 return'd the Book, he forgot to take that Pa-
 per back. That Gentleman unluckily knew
 not *Cotton's* Hand-writing, and did not think
 that he was the Author of these Queries; he
 gave the Paper to another Friend, and from

Henry IV. this to another, till at last it came into the hands of the Marquis of *Rosni*, who shewed it to the King. Most part of those who saw that Paper, deemed some of the Questions contain'd therein impious, some treasonable, and some ridiculous and unworthy of a Man of his Gown, and consequently condemned him as a Man whom the Law ought to prosecute and punish; very few looked upon it as the Effect of a preposterous Zeal for Religion. The King was one of these last, he had expressly commanded the Marquis of *Rosni* to keep the Original by him, and his Majesty, who was so much taken with *Cotton's* great Parts, that he consulted him upon every thing, was very sorry when he heard that Copies had been drawn of that Paper and spread abroad, being sensible that it could not but be prejudicial to the Reputation of his new Favourite; therefore to stop his Courtiers Mouths, he dissembled his real Sentiments, and commended what he inwardly condemned, so that that Affair went no further for the present (c).

CXLI.
Cardinal
D'Offat's
Death.

Cardinal *Arnauld D'Offat* died at *Rome* this Year, in the Month of *March*, aged sixty-seven Years, six Months, and twenty Days: he was born in a paultry Village near *Auchs* in *Guienne*, of a Family so obscure, that he himself knew not his own Relations; some say that his Father was a Mountebank, who died so poor that he left not enough to pay the Charges of his Burial; and some others say that he was the Natural Son of the Lord of the Manor where he was born. Howbeit, when he died he left no other Heirs than the Poor and his own Servants. But God Almighty had endowed him with such extraordinary

(c) Thuanus, *ibid.*

ordinary and excellent Gifts of the Mind, that ^{Henry IV. 1604.} they abundantly supplied whatever was defective in his Birth. His Wit, Learning, Piety, ^{Pope Clement VIII} Probity and exquisite Sagacity, were no sooner displayed at the Court of *Rome*, but he was thought to match all those who had made themselves conspicuous by their Nobility and other Advantages of Fortune; he went beyond many of them, and behaved himself in a way so unblameable, that he commanded Love and Admiration from every one during the whole course of his Life, (the Marquiss of *Rosni* and his Secretaries excepted).

He lived after such a manner for thirty-one Years together at the Court of *Rome*, that he appeared always free from all Ambition, and with such a Modesty amidst the high Dignities wherewith he was invested, that every one agreed that he deserved to be raised to the highest Pitch of Grandeur whereat a *Roman* Clergyman of his Parts can aspire. His Letters ought to be read with Attention by every Politician, for they are written with a convenient Gravity, and full of an agreeable Diversity of Narrations and judicious Reflexions, and very proper to inform the Mind of a Minister of State (*d*). *Du Perron* inherited his Cardinal's Hat.

While the King was busy in his publick ^{CXLII.} Buildings, in settling Manufactories and other ^{L'Hôte's} like Employments worthy a great Prince when ^{Treason.} he has settled Peace at home and abroad, and which are conducive to the Glory, Welfare, and Happiness of his Subjects, the Enemies of the State were hard at work by their clandestine and wicked Practices, to plunge again the

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King-

(*d*) Thuanus, Lib. cxxxi. Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, Liv. ii. Sect. 10, & 17.

Henry IV Kingdom into its former Confusions and Mis-
 1604. ries. The *Spaniards* seeing that they could
 not compass their Ends by open Force, spared
 no Money or fair Promises of Preferment, to
 engage those who were in Offices of the greatest
 Trust, to betray the Secrets of the King's Privy
 Council; and the Corruption of the Age was
 such, that they found no great Difficulty to
 succeed according to their Wishes. Among
 these Villains who suffered themselves to be
 bribed out of their Fidelity, there was one
Nicholas L'Hofte, Secretary to *Villeroy*, who
 was born, and had been brought up in his
 Master's House, who was very fond of him
 because of his bright Parts, and that he was
 his Godfather, he promoted his Advancement
 as much as he could, and employed him to
 decypher the Letters in his Office. That Man
 being ambitious to raise his Fortune above his
 Condition, did stick at nothing that might
 serve his Turn, and basely betraying the Trust
 reposed in him, revealed to the *Spanish* Am-
 bassador the most secret Designs and Re-
 solutions of the Privy Council. He had
 been given by *Villeroy* to *Rocheport*, when he
 went Ambassador to *Spain*, for learning the
Spanish Language; and having contracted a
 stricter Friendship with the *Spaniards*, he pro-
 stituted his Faith and Honour for a Pension of
 1200 Crowns a Year: He kept likewise a strict
 Familiarity with one *Raffis*, who was an Exile
 in *Spain*, having been one of the excepted
 in the general Pacification. This Man, receiv-
 ing frequent Letters from *L'Hofte*, after his
 return in *France*, thought to have met a pro-
 per opportunity of obtaining his Pardon, by
 betraying the Secret of his Friend. With this
 View he went to *Du Barail*, who had suc-
 ceeded

ceded *Rocheport*, and told him all the Secret; ^{Henry IV. 1604.} it happened just at that time, that the Ambassador had occasion to talk with the Pope's Legate at *Madrid*, about some secret Affair ^{Pope Clement VIII} that was in agitation in the Council of *France*; and the Legate told him, that he had been already informed thereof by the *Spanish* Ministers, and even of much more than what *Du Barail* had thought proper to declare; whereby that Ambassador was fully convinced of the Truth of *Raffis's* Charge against *L'Hoste*. Thereupon, without any further delay, he dispatched his own Secretary *Descartes* with the said *Raffis* to the Court of *France*, with Letters to *Villeroy*, and those which *Raffis* had received from *L'Hoste*. Their sudden Departure made the Ministers of *Spain* to suspect that *L'Hoste's* Treason was detected; they dispatched an Express to *Baltazar de Zuniga*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at the Court of *France*, ordering him to give timely Notice to *L'Hoste* of the danger he was in. This Express arrived sooner than *Raffis*, so that the Traitor having been warned by *Zuniga*, came to *Fontainebleau*, where the Court was, and consequently *Villeroy*, in order to make some Discovery, and the necessary Provisions for his Escape. As soon as he descried *Raffis* with *Descartes* just arriving at *Fontainebleau*, he withdrew suddenly, and fled with a *Fleming*, which *Zuniga* had sent unto him for that purpose. Messengers were out of hand dispatched after him in order to arrest him; they overtook him at *La Fay*, near *La Ferte*, in *Champaign*, where he was to cross the *Marne* over a Ferry-boat, but the Wretch was so frightened with the Noise of the Horses that ran after him, (it was a very dark Night) that attempting to ford the

Henry IV. the River, he fell into a Pit, and was drowned. His Guide was taken and brought along with the Corpse to *Paris*, being strongly suspected of having procured *L'Hofte's* Death, by the *Spanish* Ambassador's Order, lest, being taken alive, he should declare his Accomplices; nevertheless, as there was no Evidence against the said Guide, he was released. As to the Corpse, it was tried, the Parliament allowing an Attorney to plead for it; and being found guilty, he was sentenced to be quartered at four Horse's Tails, and his Quarters to be set upon so many Gibbets at the Entrance of the City; which Sentence was executed. As to *Villeroy*, he was in the greatest Anxieties, especially on account of his Secretary's Death, whereby he saw himself deprived of the properest Means of clearing himself; for there wanted not People that suspected him, as if he had had a hand in this Villany; but his Majesty was graciously pleased to comfort him, and to silence at Court those who attempted to reflect upon that Minister's Conduct.. *Raffis* obtained his Majesty's most gracious Pardon, as he had been promised by the *French* Ambassador at *Madrid*, and made several other Discoveries which occasioned that of the Count of *Auvergne*, the Marquess d'*Entragues*, and the Marchioness of *Verneuil's* Plot against the Government. (e)

CXLIII. The Count and the Marquess had treated with the Ambassador of *Spain*, with the Marchioness's Consent, to have her, with her Children, safely conveyed into *Spain*. That Negotiation had begun with *Taxis*, and had been continued and brought to a Conclusion with *Zuniga* his Successor; and *Morgan*, an *English* Gentle-

(e) Thuan. Lib. cxxxii.

Gentleman, who had been in the Service of Henry IV. the late Queen of *Scotland*, was the Manager thereof. The Charge against them was, that they had communicated to the *Spanish* Ambassador the Promise of Marriage above-mentioned, which the King had made to the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, to engage her to comply with his Desires, and had made a secret Treaty with him, whereby King *Philip III.* promised to assist him * for raising the Marchioness's eldest Son upon the Throne; and for that purpose, to give him 500,000 Livres ready Money, and to send the Troops he had in *Catalonia* to support the Malecontents in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*. Nay, he was charged with having plotted to attempt to murder the King, when he should go to the Marchioness his Sister; but that part of the Charge was not much credited.

Now, when the Count had seen *Raffis* arrived at Court, he questioned not but that the Intrigue was discovered, and went away into the Country of *Auvergne*, on pretence of some Quarrel, which he had pick'd at Court. The King sent after him Orders to come back; he declined to obey, unless his Majesty would be pleased to send his Abolition in due Form for all past Offences: That was granted him, but upon this Condition, *That he should instantly come to Court.*

He could never be prevailed upon to trust himself on the King's Word: So that his Majesty was obliged to have him arrested in *Auvergne*, which could not be executed but by Surprise; he was brought to *Paris* under a strong Guard, and clapt into the *Bastile*: *Entragues* and his Wife were arrested in their own Country Seat of *Maleherbes*; the first

1604.
Pope Clement VIII

* The Count of Auvergne.

The Count and his accomplices are arrested.

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BOOK VII. Richard the Third
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and Honours, and giving them
all their Government and
obtained the crown himself
House.

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cause they looked upon all
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Henry IV. first was brought to the Jail of the Parliament
 1604. at *Paris*; as to the Marchioness their Daugh-
 Pope Cle- ter, she had her own House for a Prison, and
 ment VIII
 Guards were set upon her: this happened in
 October.

They are And not to break the Thread of this Rela-
tried. tion; I shall say, that the next Year they were
 tried by the Parliament, found guilty of the
 Crimes laid to their charge, and condemned;
And con- the Count, *Entragues*, and *Morgan* to be be-
demned: headed in the *Greve*, and the Marchioness to be
 shut up in a Nunnery at *Beaumont* near *Tours*,
 till further Information could be made. But
 his Majesty's Affection for the Marchioness
 was too strong for suffering him to deal with
 her, with the severity she and her Relations
 deserved, nor even to let them languish long
 under the uncertainty of their Fate; for on
 the 23d of March 1605 (the Sentence had
 passed the 1st of February) he caused his Let-
 ters-Patent to be drawn up under the great
 Seal, which were verified in Parliament, where-
 by he granted her Liberty to retire to her own
 House of *Verneuil*, but that she should con-
 verse or speak with no body else but her own
 Domesticks; and at last, in the Month of Sep-
 tember following, he restored her to her full Li-
 berty, Honours and Favours, forbidding his At-
 torney-General, and all the Courts of the King-
 dom to take any Cognizance of that Affair,
 or make any Prosecution against her on that
 Account for the future.

The King
mitigates
the Sen-
tence.

As to the Count of *Auvergne*, the Lord of
Entragues, and *Morgan*, the King, in the same
 Month of September, commuted their Punish-
 ment, and instead of Death, the two first were
 condemned to Prison for Life, and the last
 to a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom;

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 429

he restored the two first to their Fame, Estates ^{Henry IV.} and Honours, depriving them, however, of ^{1604.} all their Governments; and even *d'Entragues* ^{Pope Clement VIII} obtained Leave to keep himself Prisoner in his House. (f)

These Discoveries made not only the King, ^{CXLIV.} but all his Reformed Subjects very uneasy, be- ^{Mutual} cause they looked upon all those who held ^{Suspensions} Intelligence with *Spain*, as their sworn Ene- ^{of the King} mies, and believed that all the Projects of that ^{and the Re-} Court aimed at their Ruin; therefore they were ^{formed, fo-} continually watching to discover the Designs ^{mented by} of that Cabal, and to oppose its growing too ^{their, Ene-} powerful in *France*, where they had, as one may say, no Friend but the King, and even they were not so sure of him, as to have no distrust of him, seeing that he suffered himself to be too much influenced by the Jesuits, their irreconcilable Enemies. His Majesty was not ignorant of these Fears and Jealousies of his Reformed Subjects; and was graciously pleased to do several Things in their behalf, in order to allay them as much as he could, knowing that they proceeded from good Principles. With that View it was that he favourably answered their Petitions rendered this Year by their Deputies General, and redressed their Grievances. Nevertheless their Enemies were continually suggesting one thing or other to the King to their Disadvantage, especially at this time, that they were soliciting a Licence for holding a Political Assembly; sometimes they were represented as intending to canton themselves, and to form a kind of a Republick in the State; others said, that they were ready to rise in the Duke of *Bouillon's* behalf, and were to introduce a *German Army* in the very heart

*And con-
demned:*

*The King
mitigates
the Sen-
tence.*

the Count, *Entragues*, and
headed in the *Greve*, and then
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BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 431

be never thought that the King intended to employ him as a Spy : That it was not worth the while of his Majesty, any more than himself, that he should inform him of every Hastiness or mad Prank, that may happen in a Country, which, for the most part are repented of as soon as committed, &c. This was said especially on the Duke of *La Tremouille's* Account, whose Discourses were so ill represented at Court, that he received repeated Orders to come directly, and was ready to obey, notwithstanding the Advices of his Friends, when Death delivered him from all his Troubles in the Month of October, as aforesaid.

Rosni being returned to Court, the King was willing to grant the Reformed a Licence for holding a Political Assembly, but upon such Terms which had never been heard of before ; for he willeth, 1^o That some Person of his own chusing should preside in his own Name in the Provincial as well as in the General Assemblies, to inspect whatever should be transacted. 2^o. That the Deputies to that Assembly, should settle amongst themselves such an Order, that for the future, their General Deputies at Court could be named without any Assembly, whereby the Council intended to break off the Union that subsisted between the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom, had they succeeded in that Attempt. But upon *Du Plessis's* warm Remonstrances, his Majesty quite altered his Mind, and granted them full Liberty to assemble the next Year as usual at *Chatelberaud* ; nay, he was very angry against *Du Fresne Forget*, one of the Secretaries of States, who had been the Author and Adviser of these Subtilties, and obliged him to own that it was a gross Mistake, and that the

Matter

Henry IV.
1604.
Pope Clement VIII

The King grants the Reformed a Licence for holding a Political Assembly.

Henry IV. Matter had not been well understood, (for the
^{1604.} aboveſaid Conditions had been inserted in the
Pope Clement VIII first Licence, and had much offended the Re-
 formed.) (g)

The Protestant and Reformed Churches of
Poland had held ſome Years before a National Synod, and drew up a Conſenſus, where-
 by the Churches of the *Auguſtan, Bobemian,*
 and *Helvetian* Confeſſion agreed together under
 certain Conditions very pious and prudent, for
 their common Defence; declaring, that the
 Controverſy about the Lord's Supper ought
 not to hinder their Brotherhood, ſeeing that
 they agreed as to the Thing itſelf, and dif-
 ferred only as to the Manner. That Union was
 very neceſſary for them, being oppreſſed and
 cruelly perſecuted by the Catholicks, and eſ-
 pecially the *Jefuits* of that Country, and it
 proved much advantageous for them, inas-
 much as from being formerly deſpicable, be-
 cauſe of their diſunion, they came much reſpectable and
 dreaded in the State. It ſerved alſo as a Pat-
 tern to the *Proteſtant and Reformed* Princes
 of *Germany*, who endeavoured to procure a
 Reunion amongſt the Divines of both Parties,
 for which end they intended to hold a Na-
 tional Synod; but more of this under another
 Year. (b)

^{1605.} This Year three *Popes* were ſucceſſively ſeen
 at *Rome*; for *Clement VIII.* died in the Month
 of March, having ſat for thirteen Years, one
 CXLVI. Month and five Days together; it is ſaid, that
 Clement's he died through a too great Application, for
 VIII. ſearching into the intricate and obſcure Queſ-
 Death. tion about *Grace* and *Free-Will*, whereby he
 heated

(g) Vie de Du Pleſſis Mornay, Liv. ii. *Memoires du*
meme, Tom. ii.

(b) *Memoires de Du Pleſſis Mornay*, Tom. ii.

heated his Blood, was seized with a Fever, which Henry IV. carried him off in a few Days. The *Scholasticks*, ^{1604.} Pope Cle- being always affected with an itching Desire of ment VIII calling every thing in question, some *Fathers Jesuits* had moved the last Year three Queries at Rome, which occasioned great Heats in that Court, and gave great Offence to all Christendom. The first, *That it was not an Article of Faith to believe that CLEMENT VIII. was Pope.* The Pope was so much provoked at it, that, had it not been for the powerful Intercession of the *Spanish Ambassador*, that Society would have been in great Danger. The second, *That the Sacramental Confession could be made by Letters sent to a Director of Conscience.* The third was about *Molina's* Opinion, concerning the Grace of God. As to the two first, the good Fathers were obliged most humbly to submit to the *Pope's* Will, and recant these two extravagant Propositions: But as to the third, concerning the Grace of God, they asserted it with all their Might against the *Dominicans*. These last oppose it, as contrary to St. *Thomas's* Opinion, and even St. *Austin's*, which had been received in all the *Western Churches*. The *Pope* referred them to the *Congregation de Auxiliis*, which he had already appointed from the Year 1598, for examining the Opinions of the *Dominicans* and *Jesuits*, concerning these Points. The said *Congregation* subsisted to the Year 1607, when *Paul V.* put an end to it: The Divines whereof it was composed, the *Popes* especially, inclined much to condemn *Molina's* Opinion, asserted by the *Jesuits*. (This *Ludovicus Molina*, was a Divine in the University of the Society of *Jesus*, of *Evara* in *Portugal*; he wrote a Book *De Concordia Gratiae & Liberi Arbitrii*, wherein he widely differed from the *Thomists* Opinion; for he asserted that sufficient Graces were

Henry IV. granted to every one, which produces different
 1605. Effects, according to the different Use that Men
 Pope Cle- make of their Liberty; and I don't know what
 ment VIII middle sort of Science in God, to know the fu-
 ture Events under certain Conditions.) Never-
 theless nothing was decided by that Congrega-
 tion; only they commanded Silence to both
 Parties, till a publick Definition should be made;
 which Silence has never been observed by either.

CXLVII. After *Clement's* Death, there were great In-
 Leo XI. trigues in the Conclave, especially amongst the
 elected in his stead. *Aldobrandine* and *Montaltine* Factions, for the E-
 lection of a new *Pope*. Cardinal *Baronius* was
 challenged by the *Spaniards*, on account of
 his having said in his Annals, that the King-
 doms of *Naples* and *Sicily* were Fiefs of the
 See of *Rome*; whereupon the said Cardinal
 made several ridiculous Exclamations, (I mean
 on his being excluded.) The *French* Faction
 carried the Point, and by the Interest of Car-
 dinal *de Joyeuse*, Cardinal *Alexander of Medi-*
cis was elected *Pope*: It is said, that this
 Election cost King *Henry* above three hun-
 dred thousand Crowns. He took the Name
 of *Leo XI.* and on account of the Queen of
France his Relation, his Accession to the Papal
 Throne was ushered in with the greatest De-
 monstrations of Joy; the great Guns fired at
Paris, and Bonfires were made throughout
 the whole Kingdom. But that Joy was soon
 turned into Sorrow, and the great Hopes con-
 ceived of him soon vanished away by his Death;
 for he was seized with a little slight Fever the
 very Day of his Inauguration, through the great
 Fatigue of the Day, which increasing violent-
 ly upon him, carried him off the 25th Day of
 his Pontificate, in the 70th Year of his Age.

Paul V. elected Pope. The Intrigues began again in the Conclave,
 and were carried to a great Heat; nay, it
 happened

happened that two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinal *Tosco da Reggio* and Cardinal *Baronius* ^{Henry IV 1605. Pope Paul V.} having been proposed by their several Parties, were brought by the same into different Chapels, and their Party was ready to proceed to Adoration; and no better way could be devised to compose these Discords, than what had been made use of in the late Election, viz. that the *Aldobrandine* and *Montaltine* Factions should join their Votes and Interest together with the *French*, which being accordingly done by Cardinal of *Joyeuse's* Intrigues, Cardinal *Camille Borghese* was elected Pope on the 16th of *May*, and took the Name of *Paul V.* (j)

And now to return to *France*, the Reformed CXLVIII: were very busy in holding their Provincial ^{Great Pre-}Assemblies preparative to the National, which ^{parations among the} the King had granted them by his Warrant, ^{Reformed} and was to meet at *Cbatelberaud* the 25th ^{fortbisPo-} of *July*. The Lord *Du Plessis*, always atten- ^{litical As-} tive to whatever was conducive to the King's ^{sembly.} Service, to the Welfare of the Kingdom, and to the Security of the Reformed Churches, failed not to write to several Provinces, advising them of what they were to do, and how they ought to behave themselves in the present Juncture; he drew up a Memorial for that purpose, containing several Instructions as to the Choice of the Deputies which each Province was to send to the General Assembly; as to the Affairs which they were to treat of in the said Assembly, and the Petitions they were to present to the King; as to the Manner of renewing the Oath of Union between the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom, which would

F f 2

be

(j) Thuanus, Lib. cxxiv. Mezeray Troisième Part. Tom. 6.

Henry IV. be much more acceptable to his Majesty, did
 1605. they add this express Clause, that they did
 Pope Paul unite themselves together under the Obedience
 V. of the King, and of MY LORD THE DAU-
 PHIN, &c. He proposed likewise, that another Oath should be taken by all the Deputies of the Assembly, whereby they should oblige themselves upon their Faith and Honour to renounce all Intrigues, Practices, &c. and to follow only the Direction of their own Consciences in all their Deliberations and Resolutions; as also not to divulge any thing out of the Assembly without the Consent and Licence of the same. He advised them also to depute some of the best qualified of the said Assembly to the Marquess of *Rosni*, for returning their most humble and hearty Thanks to his Majesty for the sending such a Person as the Marquess was, to notify unto them his most gracious Intentions. And at the same time to give the said Marquess to understand, that if they had insisted with his Majesty for not sending a Deputy to preside in his Name in their Assembly, it was not for want of Respect for his Person and Merits, but not to make a Precedent for others against their own Liberty, being not sure of having for the future a Person in all respects so well qualified, and inclined for the good of their Churches as he was; and that was to be only a Compliment, for preventing the Proposition which the said Marquess could have been tempted to make, directly or indirectly, to be admitted in the said Assembly by way of Gratification. As to the Places of Sureties, his Opinion was, that the Assembly ought not to insist upon any thing more, did the Marquess offer them purely and simply the Pro-
 longation

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longation of the Term during which they were ^{Henry IV. 1605.} to keep them by the first Warrant of his Majesty. But if he did not make the expected offer, they ought to send a Deputation to the said Marquess, if he was impowered to treat with them upon that Article, or to the King himself, if not. And if he distinguished between Royal and Private Places, willing to grant the first and to take away the others, the Deputies ought to be charged to make proper Representations against such a Distinction. Such and other like were the Advices which *Du Plessis* sent to several Provinces; whereupon they regulated the Instructions they gave to their Representatives in the Political Assembly of *Chatelberaud*; and let it be said, to the Immortal Glory of that truly Great Man, notwithstanding the wicked and base Calumnies of the Compilers of *Sully's* Memoirs, had it not been for his great Credit amongst the whole Body of the Reformed Churches in *France*, and his great Moderation, Things would not have been transacted in that Assembly with such quietness, nor so much to the King's satisfaction, as they were.

If we do give as much Credit to these Scrib- ^{CXLIX.} blers, as the Rev. Mr. *Benoit* has too confidently done, in his History of the Edict of ^{Some Reflections against the} *Nantz*, the Reformed had been very troublesome, nay, Seditious in the Provinces of ^{Compilers of Rosni's} *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, of *Dauphiné* and *Burgundy*, and elsewhere, where they held their Provincial Assemblies for the Election of their Representatives in the National, and for drawing up their Instructions. A Letter of the Lord *St. Germain*, one of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches at Court, directed to the Duke of *Bouillon*, had been in-

Henry IV. intercepted, which indeed was sufficient to prove
 the said General Deputy guilty of High-Trea-
 son, had it been genuine. A private Memoir
 written by *Du Plessis*, different from that a-
 bove-mention'd, and dispersed amongst the
 Deputies of the Provinces to the General As-
 sembly, whereby he advised them to oppose
 all the Propositions to be made by the Mar-
 quess of *Rosni* in the King's Name, and to
 stand their ground, was come into the hands
 of the said Marquess, and sent by him to
 Court. In short, according to them, the Si-
 tuation of Affairs was such, that the King-
 dom was threatened with an approaching Re-
 volution, if a speedy Remedy was not applied
 to the Disease, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, *Ro-*
han, the Lords *Du Plessis*, *Lefdiguieres*, &c.
 were the Authors and Abettors of these Com-
 motions; whereof no better Proof could be
 had, at least as to the Lord *Du Plessis*, than
 the inveterate Malice and Hatred of *Rosni* a-
 gainst him. The Truth is, that the Duke
 of *Bouillon*, seeing the King's Inflexibility, who
 had not been moved by the Intercessions of
 Queen *Elizabeth*, nor by that of the greatest
 Princes of *Germany*, and of the four Prote-
 stant Cantons of *Switzerland*, but persisted in
 his Ill-will against him, tired with three Years
 Exile, and understanding that the King was
 advised to besiege *Sedan*; did not care to stop
 the Motions of his Friends in *Guienne* and *Lang-*
uedoc, though they acted without his Orders,
 in hopes to divert his Majesty's Arms, at least
 for a time. These Commotions were very rise
 in these two Provinces, they had been raised
 by the late Duke of *Biron*, were kept up and
 fomented by the Count of *Auvergne* and the
Spanish Faction; *Biron's* Friends were enraged

at

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at his Death, they looked upon his Majesty ^{Henry IV.} as a Tyrant, and missed no opportunity of reviling his Government and Administration. ^{1605. Pope Paul V.} The Duke of *Bouillon* had likewise many Friends in these Provinces, where most part of his ample Estates lay; they very inconsiderately joined with the *Bironians*, and pretended an Order from the Duke for so doing; nay, they gave out, that in a short time he would come at the Head of a strong Army to their relief, and other like things, which had no better Foundation than their ambitious or deluded Imagination; being not at all warranted by the Duke in what they did or said, as we shall see by unquestionable Witnesses under the next Year.

True it is again, that the Churches of several Southern Provinces were much offended to see a Lord, of such Quality and Rank as the Duke was, so obstinately persecuted, without any appearing Cause, and denied for three Years together what could not be denied even to the meanest of the Subjects of his Religion, *viz.* to be tried by one of the Chambers of the Edict; therefore some of them had had a mind to charge their Representatives to make a Motion in the General Assembly, for interceding to the King in the said Duke's Behalf. But they were diverted from that Thought, by the wise and prudent Remonstrances of *Du Pleffis*.

It is true likewise, that the General Assembly had a mind to take notice of the Affairs of the Principality of *Orange*, because the Church of that City, and the Governor of the Castle, namely *Blaccons*, had given them to understand that Religion would be in danger, were the Governour changed, as the King and the Prince

Henry IV. of Orange * intended to do : but upon better
 1605. Information, they wisely left that Affair to the
 Pope Paul King's Disposal.
 V.

It is true again, that the Assembly had at
 * Philip of first resolved to insist upon the Settlement of
 Nassau re- a Council in every Province, who should cor-
 leased of respond one with another for the Mainte-
 late from nance of good Order among themselves,
 his long and the better Observation of the Edict : and
 Confue- we shall leave it to any judicious Reader,
 ment in whether *Rosni* acted the part of a good Re-
 Spain. formed, who had at heart the Safety and Wel-
 fare of his Brethren, or the part of a slavish
 Courtier, when going far beyond his Orders,
 he opposed with all his Might such a Settle-
 ment? at least, if we believe what the Com-
 pilers of his Memoirs have written upon this
 Subject.

Let us come to the Assembly which met
 on the 25th of July.

Several Historians, and *Mezeray* himself,
 have confidently said, that *Rosni* presided in
 it ; whereas the Compilers of his Memoirs say,
 he did not. But then, according to their wont-
 ed Custom, they turn this to their Hero's ad-
 vantage ; for they pretend that it was out of
 Modesty, that he refused that Honour which
 the Assembly WOULD CONFER upon him as
 soon as they met together. They pretend,
 that the King understanding that he did not
 preside, was something angry with the As-
 sembly, but was appeased by *Rosni's* Letter,
 whereby he let his Majesty know, that it was
 not the Assembly, but his own Fault, if he
 did not preside, because he had thought that it
 was more for his Majesty's Service if he should
 abstain, than if he did accept. But the truth
 is, That *Rosni* was no sooner arrived at *Cha-*
steleraud,

telberaud, than he endeavoured to bribe the Deputies as they arrived one after another, desiring their Votes and Interest for his being elected President of that Assembly : That he was proposed for such in the said Assembly ; but that Step was thought of so great Consequence, as making a Precedent for the future, that he had but two Votes for him, and the rest unanimously voted against him. Afterwards, if we believe his own Scribblers, he behaved himself, during the time of the Assembly, more like a Foe than a Friend to the Reformed, and disputed the Ground Inch by Inch before he granted them what the King had empower'd him to grant.

Henry IV.
1605.
Pope Paul
V.

Another thing, wherein he was more successful, was to hinder the Assembly from receiving any Deputies, or Letters from any private Person of what Rank or Quality soever, Foreigner or Native. This was done purposely, on account of the Duke of *Bouillon* and of some others, the Court being afraid lest that Assembly should take his Part, and oppose the Resolution his Majesty had taken to reduce him by force of Arms.

Rosni opened the Session with a Speech, which, if it was such as it is mentioned by his Secretaries, is no better than a Demonstration of his proud, haughty, rough Temper ; nay, of an unpardonable Imprudence in him, seeing that he treats therein the greatest Lords of the Reformed Party (such as the Dukes of *Roban* and *Bouillon*, the Count of *Cbatillon*, the Marquess of *La Force*, the Lords of *Du Plessis* and *Les Disguieres*) with the utmost Contempt, even reviling this last as to his Morals. He spared not great Threatnings against the said Assembly in general, and every Member

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Henry IV. ber in particular, to make use of his Authority as the King's Commissary, and as Governor of the Province wherein they were assembled, did they keep any Correspondence with, or receive any Deputy from the Persons above mentioned or any other.

1605-
Pope Paul
V.

Three Points were chiefly debated in that Assembly. 1°. The Cautionary Towns, the keeping whereof was, after many Struggles with *Rosni*, consented to for four Years longer than the Term appointed by the Edict of *Nantz*. 2°. The Nomination of new General Deputies to reside at Court. The King shewing some Reluctancy against the continuation of the Lord of *St. Germain Monroy*, Deputy for the Nobility ; in compliance with his Majesty's Desire, the Assembly insisted not thereupon ; but the great Difficulty was to find out a Medium, whereby they could preserve their own Liberty, or at least a Shadow thereof, and the King a Prerogative of a new Invention, for his Majesty had been made to believe by the Flatterers, that it was his Right to name the General Deputies that were to reside near his Person. At last they agreed to name six, out of whom the King should pick two ; and the Lord *De La Nouë*, Son to the great *De La Nouë Iron-Arm*, for the Nobility, with Mr. *Du Cros* for the Commons, were the Persons chosen by the King. 3°. They added a Clause to their usual Oath of Union, to wit, under the Authority of my Lord the *Dauphin*, whereas they formerly named the King only: They made that Addition for these two Reasons, first to blot out of the Queen's Mind the false Notion that their Enemies had given her, that the Reformed deeming the Pope to be the Antichrist, accounted

her Marriage with the King to be altogether unlawful, and consequently her Children to be Bastards. Secondly, In order to know surely whom they ought to obey, should the King chance to die, and avoid thereby a Division amongst themselves. The King was so much the more well pleased with this Token of their Fidelity, as he had not required it from them, and *Rosni* failed not to ascribe to himself the Honour thereof, though indeed *DuPlessis*, as above-said, had been the Instigator of that Motion.

Henry IV.
1605.
Pope Paul
V.

That Commissary, according to his Instructions, endeavoured to make them consent to hold no more General Assemblies, on pretence that having nothing else to do, as he saith, than to call their General Deputies to account, and to name some others, that might easily be done by their Synods, without putting themselves to so much trouble and expences. But the Assembly rejected that Proposition, as being inspired by their Enemies, and as a Snare laid on purpose to break their Union; they knew very well that Affairs of great Moment might occur, which were not of the Resort of those Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and which could not be neglected without exposing the whole Body of the Churches to a certain Ruin; however, they agreed to acquaint his Majesty with the Reasons that should make them judge it necessary; and in that Case, if the King found there was occasion for it, he promised to give them Satisfaction.

Rosni's Intrigues were more prevailing than all the Endeavours of the Marshal of *Bouillon* and his Friends; for the Assembly refused to concern themselves in the Preservation of his Places, and left to the King to do with them as he should think proper, though they were reckoned

CXLVIII
*The King
marches in-
to Guicenne.*

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Henry IV. reckoned amongst the Cautionary Towns. The
 1605. Effect of that Negotiation was, that after the
 Pope Paul V. breaking of that Assembly, the King marched
 in *October* with his Army into *Guienne*, to
 reduce the Places belonging to the said Mar-
 shal, and some others : but indeed he found
 no resistance ; for *Bouillon*, having timely no-
 tice of the King's Resolution, wrote to his
 Majesty before he set out for that Expedition,
 offering to put into his hands whatever he
 had in *France*, and at the same time sent
 Orders to all his Servants to deliver up all
 his Places to the King without the least Com-
 pulsion ; nevertheless, it cost the Lives of some
 few of the most active in these Commotions,
 who were tried and executed.

CXLIX. The Lord *Du Plessis* had not been present
Rofni's ill at the Assembly of *Cbateleraud*, for Reasons
Office to of Prudence, lest he should be thought the
Du Plessis. Author of the Difficulties which might occur
 in their Transactions. Now this very Absence
 was cried up as a Crime by *Rofni*, who charg-
 ed him, in a Letter which he wrote to him,
 with neglecting the King's Service, and with
 being the Author of certain Memoirs that were
 dispersed at *Cbatelberaud* ; nevertheless at the
 same time the said Marquess of *Rofni* had writ-
 ten to the King, who shewed some uneasi-
 ness about *Du Plessis*, that his Majesty need
 not be uneasy upon his account, for he had
 so well contrived things, that he was sure he
 would not come to the Assembly, having pro-
 cured under-hand some Persons who had gi-
 ven him to understand, that if he came he
 would be ill received. Did the Marquess act
 on this Occasion the part of a Gentleman ? Let
 the Reader be Judge. But it was not very
 difficult for *Du Plessis* to wipe off all these ma-
 licious

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licious Aspersions, when he had the Honour to see the King, who had sent for him at *Chaberaud* as he went into *Guienne*, and who was pleased to express the great Satisfaction he had received of him in the Conference he had with him at that Place. (l)

Henry IV.
1605.
Pope Paul
V.

This Year the *Jesuits* triumphed over the Justice of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of all true *Frenchmen*; for by their Importunities they obtained at last of the King the pulling down of the Monument which had been erected in Memory of their detestable Attempt to murder his Majesty by the Hands of CHASTEL, for which he had been executed, and the Society expelled the Kingdom about nine Years before. All the Remonstrances of the said Parliament were needless, they were forced to submit to the King's Will; all the Favour they could obtain was, that they were not obliged themselves to destroy their own Work. (m)

CL.
New Vic-
tory of the
Jesuits at
Paris.

The Beginning of this Year found the Assembly of the Clergy met together at *Paris*; *Jerom De Villars*, Archbishop of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné* was their Speaker. He tendered to the King their Petition upon their Grievances, *gy*. he insisted warmly upon the Vexations which the Church underwent every-where, the infamous Trade of Benefices, the Simoniackal keeping of Benefices, the Pensions paid upon them to Lay-men, &c. and said, all these Disorders proceeded

1606.
CLI.
Assembly
of the Cler-

(m) All that I have said concerning that Political Assembly, is extracted out of the Mem. of Du Plessis, Tom. ii. from pag. 107 to 128. Vie du meme, Liv. ii. 309—10. Mem. du Duc de Sully, Tom. ii. ch. li. p. 487—534. Vie de D'Aubigné, written by himself at the beginning Des Avantures du Baron de Foeneffe, Tom. i. Thuanus has not mentioned this Assembly, I can't tell the Reason.

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Henry IV. proceeded from the denial to receive the Council of Trent; *Strange thing* (says he) *that the earthly Kingdoms, which are but the Elements of this low World,* should attempt to withdraw themselves from the sweet Influence of the Church, which is the heavenly World! That transitory Things should oppose the Effects of the everlasting; and that they should force Divine Reasons to yield to some Human Considerations, and that they should in a manner render God subject to Men! And such other like Stuff.

'Tis the common Stile of these Harangues: They always harp on the same String; and it has been observed, that the Roman Clergy in the greatest Lustre they had been for these 500 Years past, has still made as bitter Complaints, as if the Roman Church had been brought into the utmost Desolation. So this most Reverend Prelate made such mournful Complaints about the Condition to which the Catholick Religion was brought, that had he been credited, the Catholicks in *France* groaned under the heaviest Oppression. Moreover, he charged the Reformed with several Contraventions to the Edict of *Nantz*, and with several Scandals given to the Catholicks; he accused them particularly of Irreverence and Prophanation in some Places, of having trampled upon the Sacrament at *Milbaud*.

The King's Answer was adapted to the several Articles of the Speech, and received different Constructions, some taking it to be favourable, and others disobliging. As to the Council of *Trent*, his Majesty did not think proper to speak the Word, that it was not agreeable with the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, but he told them, that he wished as
much

much as they, that it could be received in the Kingdom, but was very sorry to find such great Difficulties that obstructed that Reception; that he would spare neither his Honour nor his Crown to promote the Honour and Glory of the Church: That as to Simonies, &c. he was not the Author thereof, and did not meddle himself with such a shameful Trade, as the Favourites of his Predecessors had done, but he bestowed the Bishopricks gratis upon deserving Men. As to the Excesses laid to the charge of the Reformed, it is said, that he spoke plain to them, and desired that it might be proved against them, promising to do them justice, if they were guilty of such Crimes.

Henry IV.
1606.
Pope Paul
V.

The Clergy however obtained several favourable Regulations, such as the Redemption of their Estates and other Goods which had been sold at a very low Price, provided there should not be a Possession of forty Years standing; they also obtained leave since the selling thereof, for trying the Ecclesiasticks and Monks for their Crimes or disorderly Conversation, before they were admitted into the Pale of the Reformed Churches.

To understand this, one must know, 1°. That at that Time it was sincerely acknowledged throughout the Kingdom, that the Edict of *Nantz* allowed Liberty of Conscience to all the Subjects of either Religion, whether Ecclesiasticks or Lay-men. 2°. That in consequence of that Liberty, many Priests and Monks embraced every day the Reformed Religion. 3°. That these Conversions were most cruel Mortifications to the Clergy, especially because they esteem'd as Affronts put upon them, the custom of some Churches in the *Southern Provinces*

Henry IV. *Provinces*, who were used to store up in their

1606. Vestry-Rooms the Habits of those Proselytes;
 Pope Paul V. as so many Trophies erected in honour of
 the Reformed Religion. 4°. That the said

Clergy daring not as yet to petition the King for hindering those Conversions, because the Law which authorized them was as yet too new to be so soon infringed in such a Point; they bethought themselves of the abovesaid Means, for putting a stop to them. 5°. That they supposed that no Priest or Monk would ever adhere to the Reformed Religion, was it not for avoiding the Canonical Punishment of their Crimes and disorderly Life. Lastly, they considered this Concession as an effectual Means to prevent that Desertion, since it was an easy matter for them to frame an Accusation right or wrong against him, whom they suspected to have a mind to change, and force him by Threatnings and ill Usage to alter his Mind, or tire him with long Imprisonment, or load him with ignominious Condemnations, if at last they were obliged to release him; which would have frustrated the Hopes the Reformed conceived from such Conversions. Nevertheless, the Clergy never received the Advantages they expected from that Concession, because those who had a mind to renounce the Roman Religion, for the most part found means to escape the Fury of those unmerciful Judges.

They obtained some other Regulations as to Religion: 1°. That the Reformed should not be allowed to be buried either in Churches, or Monasteries, nor in the Church-Yards belonging to the Catholicks, under any Pretence forever. 2°. That no Temples would be built so near their Churches as to disturb or scandalize

lize the least in the World, Priests or others, ^{Henry IV.} while they performed Divine Service. ^{1606.} 3^o. ^{Pope Paul V.} That Teachers, Tutors, or School-masters of Villages should be approved of by the Curates, without prejudicing the Edict of *Nantz*. (n) But it is observable, that the Edict which they obtained upon these Articles, and several others, could not be verified in Parliament but in the Year 1608.

The King was so well pleased with the good ^{CLII.} Success he had had in the Assembly of *Chabers*, which he ascribed intirely to the ^{Rosni created Duke of} prudent Management of his Favourite the Mar-*Sully*. ^{quefs of Rosni,} that, for his sake, not only he received very kindly the Deputies of the said Assembly, but he erected the Manor of *Sully* into a Dutchy Peerdom, and he was received in the Parliament of *Paris* in the Month of *March*, with the usual Formalities, but with a Pomp and Magnificence suitable to a Superintendent of the Finances. (o)

Now the King provoked at the Duke of ^{CLIII.} *Bouillon's* Obstinacy, who for four Years past ^{The King march to besiege Sedan.} had refused to surrender himself to his Majesty's Mercy, before he was perfectly sure of his Reconciliation with him, resolved to march against him, and force him at *Sedan*; to which he was strongly solicited by his first Minister *Rosni*, whom henceforward, I shall call Duke of *Sully*. Therefore having appointed the 23d of *March* for his setting out, he summoned the Parliament, and told them the Reasons of his intended Expedition, saying that he marched to *Sedan* with both his Arms open

(n) Thuan. Lib. cxxxiv. but he is not so full. Mezeray 3^e Partie, Tom. vi. Benoit Hist. de l'Ed. de Nantes, Tom. i. Lib. ix.

(o) Thuan. Lib. cxxxvi.

Henry IV. to receive the Suppliant into his Favour,
 1606. provided he did not render himself unwor-
 Pope Paul thy thereof. *De La Nouë* and *Netancour* had
 V. been many times from Court to *Sedan*, and
 from *Sedan* to Court for negotiating a Recon-
 ciliation, and the Terms thereof; *Bouillon* pro-
 fessed to be ready to submit himself to the
 King, being willing to receive his Majesty and
 the whole Court, not only within the Walls of
 the City, but even within his own Castle, and
 offered to appear in Person as a Suppliant,
 and ask Pardon for what was past after the
 manner his Majesty should prescribe. But he
 could never be brought as yet to surrender
 his Castle, as he was commanded, before he
 was certain of a sincere Reconciliation with his
 Majesty.

During these Debates between the Marshal
 Duke and the King's Deputies, his Majesty
 arrived at *Donchery* three Miles distant from
Sedan, not only with his Army, which was
 to have been in a few days twenty-five thou-
 sand Men strong, with a numerous Train of
 Artillery, but also with the whole Court, and
 the Queen herself, who was but just then
 gone out after Lying-in, and who favoured
 underhand the Marshal; for before she set out
 from *Paris*, she had sent him Word by a
 Confident, that she wished him well, and that
 she would not be wanting to him in proper
 time; she desired him only to continue, and
 not to suffer himself to be carried through De-
 spair out of the Bounds of his Loyalty.

During such a long Space of Time, THE
 KING HAD AT LAST CERTAINLY FOUND
 OUT, that the Marshal, though accused of all
 those things above-mentioned under the Years
 1602 and 1603, was guilty rather for hav-
 ing

ing been acquainted with part of *Biron* and Henry IV. 1606. the Count of *Auvergne's* Plots, than for having had any hand in them; and that his Designs at first seemed to aim at nothing else, Pope Paul V. than to oppose the exorbitant Power of a Favourite, who trampled under his feet the Laws of the Realm, the Liberty and Dignity of the Nobles, and the greatest Lords: but as to any criminal Correspondence with Foreigners, consequently with the *Spaniards*, his Majesty was now fully convinced, that the said Marshal had never any thing to do with them. Nay, he certainly knew, that he had steadfastly rejected the magnificent Offers lately made unto him by the Court of *Spain*. Therefore he was offended rather at the Obstinacy of that great Man, in other respects so dear to him, than at any thing else, and seemed to be ready to improve any fair Opportunity of reconciling himself with him upon honourable Terms; even there were several Courtiers and Ministers of the King's Council, who dreaded the good Success of this Expedition, lest *Sully*, puffed up thereby, should abuse more than ever his Master's Authority, to the detriment of others.

Therefore they improved that Great Master's Absence, who was gone to hasten the The King receives Bouillon into his Favour. Artillery: They renewed the Negotiation at *Torcy*, where the Duke repaired upon a Safe-Conduct; he made not many Words, for *Villeroy*, whom the King had sent to treat with him, having assured him of the King and Queen's Affection and Love to him, he consented easily to the Conditions, and promised to surrender his Castle as well as his City; the Treaty was signed, and the next Day in the Morning he waited upon his Majesty at

Henry IV. *Donchery*. The King was in Bed, the Duke
 1606. kneeled down, and beg'd pardon, but the King
 Pope Paul suffered him to remain not long in that
 V. Situation; he embraced him, and the Recon-
 ciliation was so sincere, that the Duke was
 as great with him the very same Day, as he
 had ever been; he was restored to all his Estates
 in *France*, and to all his Charges, and never
 a Reconciliation between a Prince and one of
 his Subjects was attended with greater, or more
 sincere Demonstrations of Joy and Satisfaction
 on both sides than this: and what was more
 agreeable, was, that this Joy and Satisfaction was
 common to the whole Kingdom. Never the
 Parliament of *Paris* verified and registered an
 Order from the King with more Alacrity and
 Diligence, than they did the Act of Oblivion
 which the King sent them from *Donchery* by
 an Express; so well the Duke of *Bouillon* was
 respected and beloved! Bonfires were made
 every where; Guns fired at *Paris*, as well as
 at *Sedan*, and the People of *Paris* feasted upon
 this Occasion; the Duke of *Sully* only was
 fretting within himself, as he, or his Se-
 cretaries insinuate it; he was intraged when he
 heard that the Treaty had been concluded
 without him, he blamed the King's Clemency,
 and refused to obey his Orders at first, when
 he commanded the Cannon at *Paris* to be fired,
 sending Remonstrances to his Majesty upon
 that Subject; but the second Command being
 positive, and worded in Terms which left no
 room for any further Resistance, without in-
 curring his Master's Displeasure, he was forced
 to obey. We found these Particulars in his
 own Memoirs. The King made a triumphant
 Entry at *Sedan*, where he was received with
 the loudest and sincerest Acclamations of Joy;
 he

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he stayed but a few Days in the Castle ; and though, by an Article of the Treaty, he was to be Master thereof for four Years together, nevertheless, being fully satisfied with the Duke of *Bouillon's* Submission, he restored it unto him a Month after. This is the Account which *Thuanus* gives us of that Affair ; and is fully confirmed by *Mezeray*, who looks upon the Articles laid to the Charge of the said Duke, as so many Calumnies of People of no Repute, or of ill Fame. So much I have thought to say, to the Discharge of that Lord. (p)

During these Transactions, which ended in CLIV. the Month of *April*, the Court continued to cause the Edict of *Nantz* to be executed in the Places where it had not been as yet. The Commissaries had restored Mass at *Rochelle*; but that Worship had been interrupted there for so long a time, that People were quite unused to it, and consequently, that Restoration met with no small Opposition. The Clergy applied themselves to the King for Redress ; but the Court was at a loss to answer their Petition, daring not to do it favourably, lest they should occasion some Commotion in that City ; nor harshly, lest the Ecclesiasticks should thereby lose the hopes of returning thither. The thing was referred to an Arbitration, and *Sully*, in whom the *Rochelese* had some Confidence, was chosen Mediator. The Demands of the Clergy were reduced to six Articles : *Sully* made them desist from the two first, which related to their Houses and Revenues ; he obtained a Grant for them upon

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(p) *Thuanus*, Lib. cxxxvi. p. 1242, 43. *Mezeray* 3°. Partic. Tom. vi. p. 320, 321, 322, 332, 33, 34. Mem. de *Sully*, Tom. 3°. ch. 4°. p. 37, 38.

Henry IV. the third, for leave to visit their own Sick
 1606. in the Hospitals, and Criminals, and other
 Pope Paul Prisoners of their Religion, on condition they
 V. should perform their Office secretly, and without
 Pomp ; and he prevailed with them not to attend the Criminals at the Place of Execution. Upon the 4th, he persuaded the Reformed to allow the Priests to be present at the Funerals, but without carrying the Cross on high, and to permit that they should wear their Canonical Habits in publick, without being insulted or abused. Upon the 5th, he advised the Catholicks not to pretend to any civil Office, unless they should be duly elected to it after the usual Form ; but at the same time, he exhorted the Reformed not to oppose their Admission to Handicrafts and Trades, and not to turn out of the City the Catholick Journey-men, lest the Catholicks should do the same with the Reformed, in the Places where they were the strongest. By the 6th, the Catholicks desired a Place of Worship, pretending that the King's Commissaries had appointed one for them ; Sully advised to give them leave to build a Church, provided the Place were neither suspicious nor troublesome ; that in such a Case it would be proper to prevail with them to accept of another, and upon their refusal, to tender a Petition to his Majesty for a Regulation, and to refrain from all violent Means.

These Advices, which had been agreed upon by the King and his Council, and which served partly as a Law until the renewing of the Troubles, show that the grand Maxim observed in the Execution of the Edict was, To leave Things in the same Condition as they were in at the time of the publishing thereof, and to preserve to either Religion the Privilege
 of

of Superiority in those Places, where they were superiour in number at that time. (q)

I shall but just mention the several other Occurrences of this Year. The Edict of the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, published in the Month of *June*, whereby the Priests in their Jurisdiction were ordered to pray for the King in their Mass, forbidding the use of all Mass-Books printed at *Paris*, *Bourdeaux* and *Lyons* in the time of the Rebellion, wherein the Prayer for the King and the Royal Family had been purposely omitted; for the Priest and Curates of that Jurisdiction had persisted till then not to pray for the King. (r)

About the same time the King, Queen, the Princess of *Conty*, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Vendome*, escaped narrowly being drowned in the Coach, as they were going to take the Ferry at *Nully's Haven*, for there was no Bridge as yet in that Place: One of the Horses took a Fright, and instead of coming into the Boat ran into the River, and drove the Coach into a deep Place; the Gentlemen that followed on Horse-back, instantly went into the Water, and saved the King and the others, but the Queen was more exposed, for she was the last whom they could come at. (s)

By the Treaty of the Reduction of *Paris*, the Reformed were not allowed the Exercise of their Religion, nearer than five Leagues distant from that City; afterwards it was allowed at *Ablon*, not quite so far; but yet the Distance was too great for going and coming in a Day, especially in the Winter-Time.

G g 4

It

(q) Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantz, Tom. i. Liv. ix. (r) Thuan. Lib. 136. pag. 1245.

(s) Thuanus Lib. cxxxvi.

Henry IV.
1606.

Pope Paul
V.

CLV.
Several o-
ther Oc-
currences.

Henry IV.

1606.

Pope Paul

V.



It was very inconvenient for such as had Children to be christened, who might chance to die upon the Road. Moreover, the Foreigners, and the Reformed Lords of the Court complained, that it was impossible for them to pay their Duties to God, and to the King on one and the same day, by reason of the too great distance; the Inconvenience was greater than ever, for they were deprived of the Advantage of Divine Service at Court, by the Duchess of *Bar's* Death, which they had enjoyed whilst she was alive. Therefore they intreated the King to grant them a Place nearer; and his Majesty willing to gratify them, granted them the Village of *Charenton* near the Abby of *St. Maur*, within two short Leagues of *Paris*; they obtained his Letters Patent for it, bearing Date the First of *August*, by virtue of which they were put in possession of the same within a few Days. The King by the said Letters reserved to himself the Cognizance of all the Oppositions and Appellations that might be formed upon that account, and forbid the Parliament and all other Judges to meddle with it.

But for all that, that Affair did not pass without difficulty; the Lord of the Manor was the Man who opposed it, grounding his Opposition upon an Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, whereby it was enacted, that the Reformed shall have no Place of publick Worship in Manors belonging to Catholicks, without the Will and Consent of the Lords thereof; but he was over-ruled by transferring of the Cause to the Council; nevertheless his Successors have renewed their Pretensions from time to time till the repealing of the said Edict. The Tumult of the Rabble was not so easily suppressed, as that Gentleman's Endeavours.

Soon

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Soon after that Establishment, they raised a Sedition at St. *Anthony's Gate*, the nearest to *Charenton*, against those who came back from Church; and though the Magistrates immediately repaired thither, it was not in their power to quell it; the Consequences thereof would have proved very bad, had not the King came back on purpose from *Fontainebleau*, his Presence restored Peace and Tranquillity in the City, and confirmed the Reformed in the Possession of the Favour he had granted them. (t)

Henry IV.
1606.
Pope Paul
V.

About the same time, the King received and answered very favourably the Bill of Grievances of the Reformed, tendered to him by their Deputies General; it consisted of several Articles about the Infractions of the Edict in several Places, and their Grievances were as fully redressed, as it could be done by the King's Letters and Orders. (v)

* The Gunpowder Treason, which was to be effected here on the 5th of November 1605, is a Thing so well known, that I need not to insist upon it; I shall observe this only, That Father *Cotton* prevailed so far with King *Henry*, as to make him believe, not only that the Jesuits had no hand in it, but also that the whole was but a Contrivance of their Enemies to work their Ruin; upon which account it was, that his Majesty sent Orders to several Sea-Ports to receive and entertain kindly all the *English* Exiles, who should take Refuge in his Dominions. (u)

This has
been omit-
ted thro'
Mistake
under the
last Year.

These good and modest Fathers attempted a thing, at the very beginning of this Year, which

1607.

CLVI.

The Jesuits
Attempt at
Rochel.

(t) Benoit ibid. (v) Idem ibid. (u) Thuan. Lib. cxxvii. Mezeray ibid.

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Henry IV. which would have been severely punished in any other but themselves. The Jesuit *Seguiran*, one of the boldest Men of that Sect, being countenanced by *La Varenne* their Protector, obtained Letters from two Secretaries of State, without the King's Knowledge, tho' in his Name, to the *Rochelese*, commanding them to suffer him to preach in their City. The Jesuit came to the Gates, boldly told his Name, Profession, Design, and offered his pretended Power from the King. The *Rochelese* refused to let him come into their City, telling him that they were very well satisfied that *Jesus* had no Companion, nor he, any Letters from the King. *Seguiran* made a great Noise about the Refusal; and the King out of Policy, not to discredit his Secretaries of State, or rather not to offend so daring a Society, feigned to be very angry at the *Rochelese* proceeding; and gave other Letters to the Jesuit, ordering the *Rochelese* to receive him for form-sake, which done he was commanded to retire quietly. (x)

CLVII. One of the most material Occurrences of this Year, was the holding of the 18th National Synod at *Rochelle*. It had been put off to this Year, notwithstanding the Instances of the Reformed, because the Pope's Legate was coming for the Christening of the *Dauphin*; his Majesty was unwilling to give him the Mortification to see such an Assembly on foot, wherein he was informed, that the Article about the *Antichrist* was to be renewed.

They opened this Sessions on the First of *March*. Many things were proposed and transacted

(x) Mem. de Sully, Tom. iii. ch. He says, that the King told him that the *Rochelese* were in the right. Benoit Tom. i. Liv. ix. Mem. de Du Pleffis, Tom. iii. p. 171, 172.

acted in that Assembly, which were not at all agreeable, not only to the Court, but even to the wisest amongst the Reformed, especially to the sober and prudent Lord *Du Plessis*. But we must not follow, on this Occasion, the Relation given by the Rev. Mr. *Benoit*, in his History of the Edict of *Nantz*; for were we to believe him in all the Circumstances he relates, that Assembly made itself guilty not only of Imprudence, but even of Disobedience and Rebellion against the King; when indeed they went not so far. He pretends, that the Synod, ACCORDING TO CUSTOM, sent three Deputies to the King, as soon as they were assembled. That is a gross Mistake, there was no such Custom in use at that time, as to begin their Sessions by sending of Deputies to Court; and the Reasons which he gives for that Deputation are still more wrong; *They were*, says he, *charged to obtain chiefly three Things*, 1°. *That they might proceed to the Nomination of two general Deputies*. Now by their Writ of Summons given in *December* last, they were ordered to proceed to the said Nomination. But without paying a greater Regard to that Gentleman's Relation than is due, I shall make the following Observations upon this Synod.

1°. I cannot tell what Reason moved his Majesty to order them to proceed to the Nomination of the General Deputies, if it was not for putting a stop to the Political Assemblies, for there was no more than eighteen or nineteen Months gone since *La Nouë* and *Du Cros* were in charge, and they were to continue for three Years, as it had been consented to at *Chatelheraud*, and they were both very agreeable to his Majesty. But if the King's Council had any thing like this in View, they were much disappointed;

Henry IV.
1607.
Pope Paul
V.

Henry IV. pointed; for the Deputies in the Synod pre-
 1606. tending that they could not swerve from the
 Pope Paul Instructions of their Principals, insisted upon
 V. naming only two General Deputies, leaving
 it to his Majesty to refer the whole matter to
 a General Political Assembly which he should
 be pleased to summon, and wherein the Con-
 dition, and Number of six, and the three
 Years Terms of their Charge, may be debated
 and resolved on. It seems that the Nomination
 of six Persons, out of whom the King was to
 pick out two, having been resolved on and
 followed in the Assembly of *Chatelheraud*, and
 the Term of three Years having been in some
 measure confirmed by a Precedent, the Lord of
St. Germain Monroy, and Mr. *Des Bordes*, hav-
 ing been in charge for three Years, this Assem-
 bly ought not to have made any difficulty to
 comply with the King's Will in both these re-
 spects. But it is to be observed, that as to the
 first, what had been done at *Chatelheraud*,
 could not be brought into precedent, for the
 Deputies of the Provinces had exceeded their
 Commission in that respect, and consequently
 their Principals were not obliged to ratify what
 they had done; besides which, no certain Regu-
 lation as to that was settled in that Assembly
 for the future; therefore the Synod of *Rochel*
 might very well act as they did without incur-
 ring the Blame of Disobedience. As to the
 2d Point, we must remember that though the
 two first General Deputies had been in charge
 for three Years together, they had been so only
 because they were confirmed and continued in
 their Office by the Synod of *Gap*. Upon the
 whole I shall say, that in my humble Opinion,
 the present Synod would have acted in a way
 much better consistent with their Profession,

had they carried their Compliance a little further, had they yielded freely what they were obliged to consent to by force; for the King would be obeyed, and the Deputies which they sent to Court during their Sessions could obtain no Alteration at all; they named but two General Deputies, namely, the Lord of *Villarnoy*, Son-in-law to the Lord *Du Plessis* for the Nobility, and Mr. *La Mirande* for the Commons; but the King would not accept of that Nomination, nor hearken to any Remonstrances made for that purpose; and at last the King's Council thought it to be more for his Majesty's Honour to grant them a Political Assembly, which was held the next Year at *Gergeau*, than to confirm an Election which derogated from his Royal Writ.

Henry IV.
1607.
Pope Paul
V.

2°. As to the Doctrine, the Article of the *Antichrist* came again under their Consideration; and what had been resolved thereupon in the Synod of *Gap*, was confirmed and ratified in this, contrary to all Rules of Christian Prudence and Moderation; nevertheless, upon the Charitable Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*, that Article remained decided, but not executed; that is to say, it was not printed in *France* in any new Edition of the Confession of Faith.

As to Dr. *Piscator*'s Opinion concerning our Justification which had been censured by the Synod of *Gap*, the University of *St. Andrews* having desired the Lord *Du Plessis* to interpose with the Churches of *France*, to the end that that Dispute should not be embittered by Writings which might provoke the said Doctor, and that the Article of the said Synod should be moderated, promising that the said *Piscator* nor his Followers should not write; that Lord wrote to all the Provincial Synods, and was

as

Henry VI. as favourably answered as he could desire; and indeed in this Synod they not only moderated the Decree of *Gap*, but they severely censured the Book of a deposed Minister, namely, *Felix Huguetti*, who had attempted to confute Dr. *Piscator's* Opinion without being licensed by the Synod: however, they disapproved the abovesaid Doctrine, though they commended the great Modesty of its Author, and ordered all Ministers and Teachers of the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom to conform themselves to that Form of Sound Words which had been hitherto taught amongst them, and is contained in the Holy Scripture: That the whole Obedience of Christ, both in his Life and Death, is imputed to us for the full Remission of our Sins, and Acceptance unto Eternal Life. Dr. *Sobnius*, Minister and Professor in the Church and University of *Montauban*, received the Thanks of the Company, for his Answer to Dr. *Piscator*, made by order of the Synod of *Gap*, and communicated in MS to the present, but was desired, for Peace-sake, to keep it by himself without publishing it as yet.

As to the Article of the *Church*, whereupon the Synod of *Gap* had made some Innovations which had given some Offence to King *James I.* it was unanimously decreed, upon *Du Pleffis's* Remonstrances, to leave it such as it was formerly, without any Addition or Subtraction.

3°. This Synod, using the same Liberty as the foregoing had enjoyed, received Letters from foreign Princes, Churches and Academies, and answered them; but they went further, for, without asking the King's leave, they called one *Melvin*, whom King *James* detained Prisoner

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Prisoner in *London*, for having opposed the Reception of the Bishops in *Scotland*, to serve in the Church of *Rochel*; that Prince had promised him his Liberty, provided he should out of hand depart the Kingdom. King *Henry IV.* was much offended at this proceeding of the Synod, nevertheless, some other Affairs put a stop unto this. 1607.
Pope Paul V.

4°. Whereas there were Affairs of a Political Nature which were to be treated of in this Synod, and wherein the whole Body of the Reformed were concerned, the Magistrates of *Rochelle* sent their Deputies, demanding to be admitted, and to have a deliberative Vote in the Assembly, as making a Province by themselves, especially whenever any Affairs not relating to Doctrine or Discipline, should be treated of. After a long Debate upon the said Proposition, it was resolved that the Moderator, Assessor and Scribe of the Synod should be chosen only by Ministers and Elders, and that the Deputies of the City of *Rochelle* should be admitted and have a deliberative Vote in the Synod, according to the Decree of *Chatelberraud*, in case other Matters besides Ecclesiastical came under their Consideration.

Lastly, having cast up the Accounts of *La Nouë* and *Du Cros*, the two old General Deputies, and discharged them with great Eulogiums, and given the necessary Instructions to the two new ones, namely, *De Villarnou*, and *La Miraude*, supposing that the King would accept of them; they ended their Sessions the 22d of *April*, having sat for above seven Weeks together, the Rev. Mr. *Beraud* senior, was Moderator (y).

Du
(y) Benoit Hist. de l'Ed. de Nantes, Tom. I Liv. 9. Vie de Du Pleffis—Liv II. p 330. Mem. du Mème, Tom. III. p. 170-174. Mem. de Sully, Tom. III. ch. 9. & 15. Quick's Synodicon, Tom. I. p. 261—307.

Henry IV. Du Plessis was at Court all this while, where he was come for settling the Affairs of his Majesty's House of Navarra, the Lord of Calignon, Chancellor thereof, being dead in September last. He was graciously received at Fontainebleau, and lodged in the Palace; after six or seven Months stay at Court, he took his Leave of his Majesty, who told him that he was very sorry that he could not employ him as he desired, but that he knew the Reason thereof, meaning the Offence that he had given the Pope by his Writings; nevertheless, he desired him to come to Court from time to time, that he might the better be informed of his Intentions, and impart them to others; adding, that he ought to advise them to be prudent, (he meant the Reformed) and to remember that they could do or say nothing, but he was immediately informed thereof. To which Du Plessis answered, *We don't fear, SIR, that your Majesty should be informed of what we do, but rather of what we do not. Some mean People among us, who receive Pensions from your Majesty, very often do tell Tales in order to deserve it, whereby they raise Suspicions against us in your Mind, and put you out of humour against your faithfullest Servants. But let your Majesty judge what is to be believed of these Reports, by what you have seen and heard in our Assemblies for so many Years; if we never attempted any thing, if we never took any unlawful Resolution against the Kings our Prosecutors, who massacred us, how much less against you, being maintained under the Benefit of your Edicts, and enjoining Liberty of Conscience, and Security for our Estates, Lives and Honours?* (z)

In

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In the Month of *April*, the famous Quar-
 rel between the *Venetians* and Pope *Paul V.*
 was amicably adjusted through the Mediation
 of *France*. Cardinals of *Joyeuse* and *Du Per-*
ron, were much employed in that Negotia-
 tion; whereupon I shall not insist, that Affair
 being so well known in the World; I shall only
 make two or three Observations upon some
 Particulars.

Henry 1st.
 1607.
 Pope Paul
 V.

CLIX.
 Quarrel
 between
 the Vene-
 tians and
 the Pope
 terminat-
 ed.

1^o. There is a very great Disagreement as
 to the Terms of Reconciliation, and the man-
 ner how the Interdict was taken off, between
Thuanus and the Author of *Bishop Bedel's Life*;
 the first tells us positively, that Cardinal of *Joy-*
euse absolved the *Senate*, all the Subjects and
 Orders of the Republick, in presence of the
 Doge and twenty-five Senators of the first
 Rank; and he adds, that many could not see
 that Ceremony without fretting, wondering at
 their being so different from their Ancestors,
 who in the time of Pope *Sixtus* the IVth,
 after a War of two Years, could never be
 brought to receive Absolution. But the other
 says, that the Senate asserted their Right, and
 maintained their Laws, notwithstanding all the
 Pope's Threatnings; NOR WOULD THEY SO
 MUCH AS ASK PARDON, OR CRAVE ABSO-
 LUTION; and some Pages after he says, the
 Senate carried the Matter with all the Dig-
 nity and Majesty that became that most Se-
 rene Republick, as to all civil Things: for
 THEY WOULD NOT ASK ABSOLUTION; but
 the Nuncio, to save the Popes's Credit,
 came into the Senate-House, before the
 Duke was come, and crossed his Cushion, and
 absolved him, &c. That is quite the Re-
 verse of what *Thuanus* affirms, upon Cardinal
 of *Joyeuse's* Testimony, neither doth it agree

Henry IV. with the Relation given by *Alessandro Maria*
 1607. *Vianoli*, who says, that when Cardinal of Joy-
 Pope Paul V. cuse came back from *Rome* to *Venice*, *il fu re-*
 ricevuto come l'Angelo della Pace, and that after
 the Ceremony was over, every Place resounded
 with loud Acclamations of Joy. (a)

2°. We read in Bishop *Bedell's* Life, that
 a Passage fell out DURING THE INTERDICT;
 &c. viz. the coming of a Jesuit to *Venice*, name-
 ly *Thomas Maria Carassa*, who published a
 thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity,
 which he dedicated to the Pope with this ex-
 travagant Inscription, PAVLO V. VICE-
 DEO, &c. Now, tho' the Matter of Fact is
 true, yet there is three gross Mistakes in the
 Relation: 1°. As to the Time, it was in 1608,
 that is a Year after the Reconciliation. 2°. As
 to the Place where they were printed, it was
 at *Naples*, and not at *Venice*; and they were to
 be disputed thrice, once at *Rome*, and twice at
Naples. 3°. As to the Quality of the Pub-
 lisher, he was not a Jesuit, but a *Dominican*
Friar; Bishop *Bedell* styles him of the Order
 of the *Fryars Preachers*. See that Bishop's An-
 swer to Mr. *Wadsworth*. (b)

3°. But there is another Event of much greater
 Importance, which these Divisions between the
 Republick and the Pope were very like to pro-
 duce, had the good Inclinations of *Fra. Paolo*
 and *Bedell's* great Abilities been countenanced
 as they ought to have been; the truth whereof
 I found confirmed by *Du Plessis*, though he don't
 name the Persons who acted on this Occasion,

King

(a) Thuanus Liv. cxxxvii. pag. 1270. The Life of
 William Bedel, D. D. p. 6. 15. *Historia Veneta* di
Alessandro Maria Vianoli, Parte 2^a, p. 398, 399.

(b) Bp. *Bedell's* Life, p. 11. Copies of certain Letters
 of *Bedell*, Ch. iv. p. 365.

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King *James* I. excepted, and it is as follows. Henry IV. 1607.

“ That Breach was brought very near to a 1607. Pope Paul V.
 “ Crisis; so that it was expected a total Sepa-
 “ ration, not only from the Court, but from
 “ the Church of *Rome*, was like to follow
 “ upon it. It was set on by *P. Paolo* and the
 “ seven Divines, with much Zeal, and was
 “ very prudently conducted by them. In order
 “ to the advancing of it, King *James* ordered
 “ his Ambassador [*Sir Henry Wotton*] to offer
 “ all possible Assistance to them, and to accuse
 “ the Pope and the Papacy, as the chief Au-
 “ thors of all the Mischiefs of Christendom. The
 “ *Doge* and the Senate answered this in Words
 “ full of Respect to King *James*, and said, That
 “ they knew thing, were not so bad as some en-
 “ deavoured to make the World believe, with
 “ design to sow Discord between Christian Prin-
 “ ces: And when the Pope’s Nuncio * object-
 “ ed, that King *James* was not a Catholick, and
 “ so was not to be relied on; the *Doge* answer-
 “ ed, that the King of *England* believed in Je-
 “ sus Christ, but he did not know in whom some
 “ others believed. Upon which *P. Paolo*, and
 “ the seven Divines pressed Mr. *Bedell* to move
 “ the Ambassador to present King *James*’s Pre-
 “ monition to all Christian Princes and States,
 “ then put in Latin, to the *Senate*, and they
 “ were confident it would produce a good Effect.
 “ But the Ambassador could not be prevailed
 “ on to do it at that time, and pretended that
 “ since St. *James*’s Day was not far off, it would
 “ be more proper to do it on that day. If this
 “ was only for the sake of a Speech that he
 “ had made on the conceit of St. *James*’s
 “ Day, and King *James*’s Book, with which
 “ he had intended to present it, that was a
 “ Weakness never to be excused; but if this

H h 2

“ was

• It is a
 Mistake,
 the Pope
 had no
 Nuncio at
 Venice du-
 ring the
 Quarrel;
 it must be
 Cardinal
 of Joyeuse
 before he
 went to
 Rome.

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Henry V. " was only a Pretence; and that there was
 1607. " a Design under it, it was a Crime not to be
 Pope Paul V. " forgiven ———. Before St. James's Day
 { " came, the Difference between the Republick
 " and the Pope was made up, and that hap-
 " py Opportunity lost; so that when the Am-
 " bassador had his Audience on that Day, and
 " presented the Book, he was answered, that
 " they thanked the King of *England* for his
 " good-will, but they were now reconciled to
 " the Pope, and that therefore they were re-
 " solved not to admit of any Change in their
 " Religion, according to their Agreement with
 " the Court of *Rome*." This I have transcrib-
 ed out of *Bedell's* Biographer.

Though, according to the noble *Italian* Au-
 thor just now mentioned, the Senate of *Venice*
 had by their Decree expressly forbidden, from
 the beginning of their Quarrel, to write or
 publish any thing against the Catholick Religion;
 nevertheless that Prohibition had not hinder-
 ed *Fra. Paolo*, and several other Divines of the
 Republick, from holding frequent Conferences
 with Dr. *Bedel*, wherein they had so much
 improved, that a Reformation in the Church
 had been resolved between them. This Truth
 is confirmed by *Du Plessis's* Testimony; that
 is to say, he confirms that the *Venetians* had
 a mind to work out a Reformation in their
 Church, and that King *James* had a good hand
 in that Resolution of the Republick. Nay,
 it appears by his Letters of the 7th of *June*
 1607 to Mr. *Rivet*, of the 20th of *April* 1608
 to the same, of the 5th of *February* 1609 to
 the Rev. Mr. *De La Fontaine*, Minister of the
French Church in London, of the 13th of *March*
 1609 to the Rev. Mr. *Rivet*, Minister at *Tbouars*,
 of the 27th of *March* of the same Year, to
 the

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 469

the same, of the 4th of *April*, of the 18th, of ^{Henry IV.} the 24th of the same Month to the same, ^{1607.} of the 13th of *August* 1609 to the Rev. Dr. ^{Pope Paul V.} *Tilenus*; it appears, I say, that notwithstanding the outward Reconciliation of the Republick with the Pope, nevertheless there remained still such a strong Inclination for a Reformation, that had it been curiously entertained and fomented by those to whom it did belong, certainly it would have brought forth the desired Fruit. Again, it appears, that Father *Fulgentio*, one of Father *Paul's* Companions, preached the Truth so plainly and openly during the Lent of 1609, before a crowded Audience of the Nobility and People, that the Pope's Nuncio was much offended at him, bitterly complaining, *Che troppo exaltava la Gratia di Dio*, and severely threatened him; but the said Father was strenuously supported by the *Doge*, and the People laughed at the Nuncio, and turned his Reproach into a Proverb, *Che troppo laudava Christo*; meaning that *Fulgentio* was too good a Christian to be a good Papist. (c) So much I have thought proper to say about that important Quarrel.

The beginning of this Year found the Rev. ^{1608.} Mr. *Daniel Chamier* at Court, where he was ^{CLX.} arrived since the 8th of *November* last; he had ^{A Conference proposed for the Reunion of the two Religions.} been deputed by the Churches of *Dauphiné*, for to thank his Majesty in their Names, for the favourable Answer he had been pleased to give *Monf. La Colombiere* upon the Affairs of *Orange*; for beseeching his Majesty to grant them the Settlement of a College at *Montelimar*;

H h 3

(c) Life of Wm. Bedell, &c. p. 13, 14. Mem. de Du Pleſſis Mornay, Tom. 3^e. Ambaſſades & Negociations du Card. Du Perron, Liv. 3^e.

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Henry IV. *limar* ; and he improved this Opportunity for
 1608. justifying himself of several things calumni-
 Pope Paul V. ously laid to his charge, and for clearing others
 which had been mis-represented : Indeed the
 King was very angry with him, he was above
 a Fortnight before he could be admitted to
 the Audience, and the first time he had that
 honour, his Majesty spoke to him in a very se-
 vere Tone ; but whereas his Royal Heart was
 never unaccessible to Reason and Equity, he
 was at last satisfied as to his Innocence, and
 when he took his Leave of his Majesty, after
 about five Months stay at Court, he had a
 long Conference with him, which was conclud-
 ed by the promise his Majesty made him, that
 he would maintain the Churches in Peace,
 and cause his Edicts to be strictly observed,
 and desired him to assure the Churches thereof;
 and as for his own regard, he needed but to
 serve him well, and that for certain, he would
 prove a good Master unto him.

During his stay at Court, they talk'd much
 of a Conference for the Reunion of the two
 Religions. *D'Aubigné* propos'd to take for Rule
 of Faith and Discipline, the Doctrine and Dis-
 cipline received by the Catholick Church in
 the four first Centuries ; so that whatever was
 taught or practis'd now in the Church, should
 be reformed by what was taught and prac-
 tis'd in the Catholick Church of those Ages.
Chamier and the rest of the Company agreed to
 that Proposition ; whereupon *D'Aubigné* waited
 upon the King, who sent him out of hand to
 Cardinal *Du Perron* ; where, after some Com-
 pliments exchanged between them both, the
 Cardinal bewailing the sad Condition of the
 Church, miserably torn by Schism, asked whe-
 ther there was no means to heal its Diseases.
 Where-

Whereupon D'Aubigné told him, *Since you de-* Henry IV.
sire to know my Opinion, methinks, GUICCI- 1608.
ARDINE's Maxim is the best way we could Pope Paul
follow in the Church, as well as in the State, V.
for healing our unhappy Divisions: which is, that
whenever any Society which was at first well
ordered, comes to a decay, it can never be
well restored, but by bringing it back to their
original Constitution. So then, let us take for
inviolable Laws the Constitutions settled and ob-
served in the Catholick Church until the latter
end of the fourth Century, and upon the Ar-
ticles pretended to have been corrupted, you who
set up yourself for our Eldest, do restore unto
us the first thing which we shall demand, and
of our own accord we shall restore the second ;
and so on, till every thing should be settled a-
gain upon the ancient footing. To this the Car-
dinal replied, that the Ministers would never
consent thereto ; but D'Aubigné having given
him the strongest Assurances that they would,
the Cardinal said to him, at least grant us 40
Years more besides the 400. Well, saith D'Au-
bigné, I see that you will have the Council of
Calcedon ; with all my heart, you shall have
it, do but put us to work. The Cardinal hav-
ing subscribed to the General Proposition, told
him, you shall be obliged, by your Concession,
to consent to the lifting up of the Crosses which
was received in the Church of that Age, (from
400 to 450.) Well, saith D'Aubigné, for Peace-
fake we shall do the Crosses the like honour
as they did at that time ; but would you con-
sent on your side to bring the Pope's Au-
thority upon the same footing as it was at
that time, during the first four Centuries? Nay,
to please you we shall go so far as the seventh ;
whereto the Cardinal answered, that that Af-

Henry IV. fair was to be concluded at *Paris*, and not at
1607: *Rome.* (d)

1607: Paris
V.

The King seemed at this time fully resolv-
ed to hold a National Council in *France* upon
these Matters; he told the Rev. Mr. *Chamier*,
that he desired the Assistance of all his good
Subjects, and especially his own: but I can't
tell for what, nor in whom the fault was, that
all that great Buffle came to nothing.

CLXI.

The Duke
of Salty
is said to
change.

Another Affair of great Moment, the Issue
whereof redounded much to the Duke of *Sal-*
ty's Honour, made a great Noise at Court, and
caused great uneasiness to the Reformed at
this very time, and is as follows. The King
had it put into his Head, to engage the Duke
of *Salty*, or at least his Son, to turn Roman
Catholick; for which end, he allured him with
the Promise of the Constable's Staff, (the Con-
stable *Montmorency* was then very old) and
the Offer of marrying his Son with *Madamoi-*
selle De Fendisme, his own Natural Daughter.
The Reformed were much alarmed at that News,
whereto they gave so much the more Credit,
that the Duke's Religion was much questioned
among them, for he very freely received and
conversed with Priests and Monks, every Year
he spent great Sums of Money in repairing
their Churches, Hospitals and Convents; he
kept Correspondence with Pope *Paul V.* who
had conceived great hopes of his Change, and
several Copies of the second Letter he had re-
ceived of him, had been seen every where over
the Kingdom; so that every one expected, that
he would certainly prefer the Worldly before the

(d) *Journal du Voyage de Mr. Chamier à Paris in*
1607, en Manuscript. Vie du Sieur D'Aubigné dans les
Avant. du Baron de Fomeste, Tom. i.

the Celestial Glory, his own Temporal Concerns before the Spiritual. It was much rumoured, that a Conference should be held between the Ministers of *Charenton*, and some Catholick Divines upon that account; and *Du Plessis*, who knew by experience, what was the main Design of such Conferences, wrote to a Friend at *Paris*, and sent him a Scheme how to proceed therein, if that Conference could not be avoided. But his Trouble was needless, the Duke, to the great surprize of every one, overlook'd for this time his Temporal Concerns, he stood his ground, and answered *Villeroy*, whom the King had sent to insist with him upon his Change, with a fuller Assurance of whatever had been promised him; that he would be always a most humble Servant to the King, but that whenever his own Religion would be an hindrance to his Majesty's Service, he was ready to resign all his Employments, and to retire to his own Country-House. Cardinal *Du Perron* was likewise sent to him upon the same Errand, who told him, that he wondered at him, seeing that for some Opinions sake he chose to ruin his own Fortune and the King's Service. To which he returned this Answer, Sir, I have endeavoured long ago to persuade myself to turn Catholick, but I could never prevail with myself to do it, unless you would show me a new Bible unheard of before, wherein the Tenets of your Church should be plainly taught: for I found so many things in these Tenets, not only different, but quite contrary to the Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions of the Christian Religion, taught in the Holy Bible, that I cannot believe them to have been inspired by one and the same Spirit. If the

Henry IV.
1608.
Pope Paul
V.

Debate

Henry IV. Debate was only about Points of Speculation,
 1608. I know that they may be susceptible of different
 Pope Paul V. Meaning ; but I consider only those Articles
 which are the plainest, which are either expressly commanded or expressly forbidden, and the meaning whereof cannot be any other but what is obvious to every Man's Understanding ; such as the Invocation of Saints, the Worship of Images, the forbidding of Marriage to Priests, of the Use of certain Meats, Divine Service in an unknown Tongue, the Retrenching of the Cup in the Holy Supper, &c. For though some of these Tenets might be of a very ancient Date ; nevertheless, Jesus Christ and his Apostles being still more ancient, their Doctrine is, by all means, to be preferred to all others, &c. So that he would persevere in his own Religion, until they had reformed their own according to the Word of God. As to his Son, he had already told his Majesty, that as he would not deter him from changing, so he would do nothing to encourage him to do it (e). This is the true and genuine Account of that Affair ; upon which the far-fetched Reflections of the Historian of the Edict of *Nantz* appear to me very odd.

CLXII. About the same time, or a few Weeks after,
Some Commotions in Poitou, there happened some Commotions in *Poitou* and some adjacent Provinces, wherein some ten or twelve Country 'Squires of the Reformed Religion, with a few Soldiers, were engaged. They attempted to seize upon some few paltry Towns without Success ; the Mischief was exceedingly magnified in the King's Council, just

25

(e) The same Manuscript of the Rev. Mr. *Chamier*. *Memoires de Du Pleffis*, Tom. 3. *Mem. de Sully*, Tom. 3. ch. 21.

as if the whole Body of the Reformed had took up Arms on a sudden, and his Majesty seemed resolved to march in Person; but upon the Duke of Sully's Remonstrances, one Provost with twenty Archers only were sent after them, who took all those that stood accused, some of the guiltiest were executed, some others pardoned, and others honourably acquitted. It is utterly false that the Duke of Bouillon, the Lord Du Plessis, or any other Lord of credit amongst the Reformed had any hand therein (f).

Henry IV.
1608.
Pope Paul
V.

The King having granted his Warrant to the Reformed for holding a Political Assembly at Gergeau, in October following, they met accordingly by their Representatives; the Duke of Sully was sent there by the King as his Commissary. Though they were to treat only about their general Deputies; nevertheless, they took into their Consideration some Infringements of the Edict, especially concerning the cautionary Towns. Some of them belonging to Catholick Lords, or being fallen into their hands by Succession or otherwise; some of these Lords had put Catholick Governors in them, which was quite contrary to an Article of the Edict. The Reformed had already lost, after that manner, Caumont, Tartas and Montandre, and were like to lose several others, if no Provisions were made against such Infractions, especially because Conversions were then much in fashion, and that several Lords had very little Zeal and Regard for their Religion. The Duke of Sully wrote to the King, and to Villeroy, upon that Subject, and proposed two Expedients for giving

CLXIII.
A Political
Assembly at
Gergeau.

(f) Memoires de Du Plessis, Tom. 3. His Letter to the Rev. Mr. Rivet, of the 10th of August 1608. Mem. de Sully, Tom. 3. ch. 21.

Henry IV. ing them Satisfaction, either to put Reformed
 1608. Governors in Places of that kind, being Friends
 Pope Paul or Relations to the Lords whom they belong'd
 V. to; or to engage them to insert these Articles
 in their Bill of Grievances, to be tendered to
 his Majesty by their General Deputies, upon
 promise of being redressed according to the
 Edict. The King took the last Expedient, be-
 cause he was resolved not to treat about any
 thing with the Assembly, and to oblige them
 to keep themselves in the Bounds prescribed
 them by him; to wit, to nominate six Persons,
 out of whom, the King should pick two to
 be their General Deputies; however, his An-
 swer to the Duke, was very obliging for the
 Reformed, he assured them of his Protection,
 and acknowledged that they had deserved it
 by their steady Adherence to his Service.

The Assembly submitted to the King's Will,
 and nominated six Persons, *Villarnoul* and *Mi-
 rande* were of the Number, and the King
 chose them, shewing thereby that his Refusal
 of them when they had been presented to him
 by the Synod of *Rockelle*, proceeded not from
 any dislike of their Persons, but from the dislike
 of the manner of their Election (g).

CLXIV. About the same time was held an Assembly
Assembly of the Clergy at Paris; they insisted as warmly
 as ever with the King, for the Reception of the
 Council of *Trent*, but his Majesty answered them
 too with more Resolution than ever, that what
 they asked could not be done; and upon their
 urging the Promise made in his Name about it
 by his Proxies at his Reconciliation with the
 Pope, he flatly disowned them, as having
 acted without his Knowledge and Consent.
 The King put agreeably the Change upon the
 Clergy

(g) Mem. de Sully, Tom. 3. ch. 23, 24.

Clergy in another Affair. They solicited him to settle a Fund out of which Pensions might be given to the Ministers who should renounce their Religion; they did not question in the least, but that the said Ministers, having but very small Salaries, would be glad to better their Condition by their Apostacy. But the King not willing that such a Fund should be taken out of his Exchequer, procured a Brief from the Pope to the Clergy, desiring them to find that Fund out of their own Revenue. The Brief was presented to the Assembly by Cardinal of *Joyeuse*. In consequence thereof, they made a Fund of thirty thousand Livres a Year, out of which the Ministers and Professors only, who should turn Catholics, were to receive their Pensions; but how inconsiderable soever that Sum was, they never made a sufficient number of Conquests to exhaust it; the best part thereof has been made use of for the support of certain Missionaries Laymen, who have troubled the Reformed in thousand ways, in the following Years.

There were this Year great Rejoicings at Court, occasioned by the Marriage of *Henry*, Prince of *Condé*, with *Charlotta Margaret*, Daughter of the Constable of *Montmorancy*, consummated in *March*, and that of *César of Vendome*, Natural Son to the King by the fair *Gabrielle of Estrées*, late Duchess of *Beaufort*, with the Heiress of the late Duke of *Mercœur*, accomplished in *July*, to the great Joy of the King. The transcending Beauty of the Princess of *Condé*, occasioned great Troubles at Court, the King took more Notice of her than was necessary, and the Prince her Consort, dreading the Consequences of that new Inclination, engaged the Princess to quit the Court and

Henry IV.
1608.
Pope Paul
V.

1609.
CLXV.

at Court.

she

Henry IV. OF THE ANTICHRIST, which was ordered to
 1609. be perused by the Academy of *Saumur*, and
 Pope. Paul being approved by them, to be printed with
 V. the Author's Name. (b)

CLXIX. Marshal *D'Ornano* being dead this Year, un-
The Mar- der the Operation of the Stone, the King of
shal's Staff his own accord gave his Staff to the Lord of
bestowed *Les Diguieres*, who was sent for to Court for
upon the that purpose ; and indeed, if we consider his
Lord of Les great Capacity, and military Atchievements,
Diguieres. the great Services he had done the Crown,
 and especially to the King, while he was Prince,
 and then King of *Navarre*, and since he was
 upon the Throne of *France*, for almost 50
 Years together, no Man deserved better such
 an honourable Reward than he ; so was he re-
 ceived by the King, when he arrived at Court
 on the 29th of *August*, with very distinguish-
 ing Marks of Esteem and Affection. During
 his stay at Court, his Majesty imparted unto
 him his great Designs, for which he was mak-
 ing such vast Preparations, and which he was
 upon the point to execute, when he was pre-
 vented by *RAVAILLAC*, as we shall say pre-
 sently. As the Marshal was ready to set out
 on his return into *Dauphiné*, the King sent for
 the Princes his Sons, and told him, *Sir, There*
are my Children, to whom I desire you to be
instead of a Father, after my decease, for I shall
leave them young, and standing in need of my
good Servants. To which the Marshal hav-
 ing replied, that his Majesty ought to enter-
 tain better Hopes, and that he would see them
 in an Age fit to govern by themselves: *No,*
Sir, saith the King, be sure that you shall live
longer

(b) Quick's Synodicon, Tom. i.

(j) Videl. Hist. de Les Diguieres, Liv. vii. ch. 12.

longer than I; as if he had had a Prognostick of his approaching Death, for the Marshal was then above 65. (j)

Henry IV.
1609.
Pope Paul
V.

About this very time of *Les Diguieres's* Promotion, happened the second Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* from *Spain*. The most powerful Promoter thereof was *Don Bernardo de Rois* as y *Sandoval*, Cardinal Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor General, and Chancellor of *Spain*. This Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of *Lerma*, by whom King *Philip III.* for some Years before and for some Years after the Expulsion, was absolutely governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the *Moriscoes* extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their Children that were under seven Years of Age; affirming, that of the two, he judged it more advisable to cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, Men, Women, and Children, than to have any of their Children left in *Spain*, to defile the true *Spanish* Blood, with a mixture of the *Moorish*.

CLXX.
The Expul-
sion of the
Moriscoes
from Spain.

I shall not enlarge myself upon a Subject, which has been so fully and accurately treated by the Learned Chancellor of *Sarum*, any further than for observing,

1^o. That this most inhuman Act began in the Kingdom of *Valencia* in the Month of *September* 1609, without the least Provocation, and notwithstanding the warmest Representations of the States of that Kingdom, the Clergy excepted; for the Archbishop of that City was so unjust and cruel, as to postpone the publick Good to his own private Interest, and wickedly abused the King's Simplicity, forging of Visions, Apparitions and Miracles, which, as he pretended, were so many Calls of God upon the King to perpetrate that heinous Act.

VOL. IV. 11 1^o. That

(j) *Vide, Hist. de Les Diguieres, Liv. vii. ch. 12.*

Henry IV. 2°. That having, one may say, depopulated
 1609.
 Pope Paul V. the Kingdom of *Valencia*, they went on to do
 the like in the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Mur-*
 cia, and *Seville*, *Aragon*, *Old and New Castile*,
Estremadura, and *Mancha*. So in the latter
 End of *July*, 1610, they were expelled out of
 Old *Spain*, to the Number of six hundred
 thousand People, Men, Women, and Children,
 besides the *Siain*, and some that were detained,
 according to the most modest Computation;
 for some raise their Number to a Million. This
 great Loss of People falling upon a Country
 that was far from being over-stock'd with Peo-
 ple before, (which in truth no Nation can
 be) and which, besides those that were ex-
 pelled, had few that were industrious, or that
 were skilled in most of her profitable Manu-
 factures, it was such a fatal Blow to *Spain*,
 that she has not to this day, nor is ever like
 to recover of it, and must be a Warning to all
 Princes and Magistrates, not to suffer them-
 selves to be imposed upon by the sottish Bi-
 gottry of Men who pretend to Religion.

3°. The Historian of the Edict of *Nantz*,
 says, that those Wretches offered to submit
 to the King of *France*, if the King would
 take them under his Protection; but by what
 Dr. *Geddes* saith, we may boldly affirm, that
 that is not true: they were so far from offer-
 ing themselves to the King of *France*, that
 they did not care to make use of the liberty
 granted them by the King of *Spain*, to re-
 tire into *France*. *Benoit* adds, that King
Henry sent them a Gentleman of the Reformed
 Profession, namely *Panissaut*, to see what might
 be expected from their Offer; that he ne-
 gotiated with so much Success, that some
 considerable Advantage might have been ex-

pected by it, had he been suffered to go on: ^{Henry IV.} But the Bigots told the King, That he in- ^{1609.} spired them with the Doctrine of the Re- ^{Pope Paul V.} formed, which might be true, and would certainly have been of great use, that Doctrine being better relished by the *Mabometans* than the *Roman Catholick*, the Worship whereof they look'd upon as grossly idolatrous, to adore what one eats. However, *Panissaut* was recalled, and a Roman Catholick sent in his stead, who proceeding upon other Principles, his Negotiation had no success. This I relate upon the Rev. Mr. *Benoit's* Authority, and no further, for want of a more proper Evidence to support his own. (k)

Now, we are come to the last Year, of the ¹⁶¹⁰ glorious Reign of our GREAT and GOOD King ^{CLXXI.} *Henry IV.* a Year, in this respect, never to ^{The King's} be remembered without Horror and Detesta- ^{vast Pre-} tion. After the Peace of *Vervins*, his Ma- ^{parations} jesty thought seriously of reducing the House ^{for the Ex-} of *Austria* into its just Bounds, and to settle ^{ecution of} a Balance in *Europe*. Whether that Thought ^{his great} *Design*, had been suggested unto him by Queen *Elizabeth*, as well as the Means of putting such a Scheme in execution, or whether it was one of his own Conceptions, we cannot positively affirm. It is certain, as we have said in its proper place, that that Great Queen desired earnestly to confer with his Majesty upon some very great Enterprize; the Place of the Conference had been appointed; the King was come as far as *Calais*, when on a sudden he was persuaded, upon some punctilio to return, on pretence to be present at the Birth of the *Dauphin*;

I i 2

but

(k) Geddes Miscell. Tracts, Vol. I. Tract. i. Mezeray 3^d. Part. Tom. vi. Benoit Hist. de l'Ed. de Nantes, Tom. 2. Liv. ix.

Henry IV. but the Duke of Sully was come over, incog-
 1610. nito, to *England* by his Order, and had sever-
 Pope Paul V. al private Conferences with her Majesty, who
 approved of and applauded that Scheme; which
 was summarily as follows.

*His
 Scheme.*

He desired to reunite so perfectly the whole
Christendom, that it should form but one Bo-
 dy, to be known under the Name of the
 CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH. He intend-
 ed to divide it into fifteen States, which should
 have been, as much as conveniently it could
 be, of equal Force and Power, and the Boun-
 daries thereof be so well specified by the un-
 animous Consent of the 15th, that no Incroach-
 ment of one upon another could be feared.
 These 15 Powers ought to be the *Popedom*,
 the *German Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Great-Bri-
 tain*, *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Swe-
 den*, *Savoy* or the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, *Ve-
 nice*, the *Republick of Italy*, composed of the
 small Potentates and Cities of the Country,
 the *Belgæ* or the *Low Countries*, and the *Swit-
 zers*. Five of these States were to be succes-
 sive, viz. *France*, *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, *Swe-
 den*, and *Lombardy*. Six Elective, the *Empire*,
Popedom, *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, *Poland*, and *Den-
 mark*. Four Republicks, two whereof were
 to be Democratical, viz. the *Low-Countries*,
 and *Switzerland*; and two Aristocratical, viz.
Venice, and that of the petty Princes and Ci-
 ties of *Italy*.

The *Pope*, besides what he possessed already,
 was to have the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the
 Island of *Sicily*, as well as the Republick of
Italy, were to be his Homagers.

The *Venetians* were to have *Sicily*, paying
 Homage to the *Holy See*, but without any
 other

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other *Redevance*, besides a kissing of the Pope's Feet, and a Golden Crucifix every twenty Years.

The *Republic* of Italy was to be composed of the States of *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Monaco*, and other petty Principalities and Lordships, and were likewise to hold of the *Holy See*; to whom, however, they were to pay no other *Redevance*, but a Golden Crucifix of 10,000 Livres Value.

Henry IV.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

The Duke of *Savoy* was to have the *Milaneſe* for his Share, which, together with his other Countries and Demain, was to be erected by the Pope into a Kingdom, namely *Lombardy*, out of which the *Cremonese* should have been subſtracted for the *Monferrat*, which was to be yielded unto him.

Free-County, *Alſatia*, the *Tiroleſe*, the Country of *Trent*, with their Dependances, were to be given to the *Helvetians*, to form their Republick; and they were to pay a Fee-Simple to the *German Empire*, every twenty-fifth Year only.

The ſeventeen Provinces of the *Low Countries* were to be ſtrengthned and increaſed by the Acceſſion and Addition of the Duchies of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *Bergben*, and *La Mark*, of *Ravensſtein*, and other ſmall Lordships, upon the like Condition as the *Helvetians*.

Transylvania, *Moldavia*, *Valackia*, were to be added to the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

The Emperor (*Rodolph II.* ſat then upon the Imperial Throne) was to be obliged to renounce the aggrandiſing of himſelf or his Family, or Relations, by the means of any forfeited Eſtate, Diſinheritance, or Reverſion of Male Fiefs; but he could diſpoſe of the vacant Fiefs in behalf of any other Perſon, not related to him, by the Advice of the Electors and Princes

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Henry IV. of the Empire. It was likewise to be agreed,
 1610. that for the future, the Imperial Crown should
Pope Paul never devolve consecutively upon two Princes
 V. of the same House, lest it should perpetuate
 it self in it, as it had happened in that of
Austria.

The Kings of *Hungary* and *Bobemia* were to be elected at the Majority of Votes of seven Electors, to wit, 1. The Nobility, Clergy, and Commoners of each respective Kingdom. 2. The Pope. 3. The Emperor. 4. The King of *France*. 5. The King of *Spain*. 6. The King of *Great-Britain*. 7. The Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*; all these three together making but one Vote.

Besides that, they were to establish in some City in the Center of *Europe*, or as near as possible, such as *Metz*, *Nancy*, or *Cologne*, a General Council composed of sixty Members, four for each State, which was to take cognizance of, and decide every thing; and six others Inferiours, settled in different Places, and composed of 20 Members each, all depending on the General, to which they were to resort when requisite.

By the means of that General Council, they intended to prevent Tyranny and Oppression in the Sovereigns, and Sedition and Rebellion in the People. As also to provide for the Preservation of the States bordering upon the Frontiers of the Infidels.

Then when all these States should have been firmly settled and regulated, they were to attack the Infidels with their joint Forces; every State, by the common Consent of the whole Body, was to be assessed at so much for its Contingent, their Army joined together was to be two hundred and twenty thousand Foot,
 and

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and fifty three thousand Horse, 217 Cannons, ^{Henry IV.} and all the rest in proportion ; with an hundred ^{1610.} and seventeen Men of War and Gallies, of the ^{Pope Paul V.} first and second Rate, besides those of a lesser Size, Fire-Ships, &c.

Now, as to Religion, three only were to be tolerated in *Europe*, the Roman Catholick, the Protestant, and the Reformed; but in such a manner, that if any of these three Religions was predominant in any of the fifteen States, all the Subjects of that State were to submit themselves to that Religion, or to leave the Country after a Year and a Day notice given unto them, to dispose of their Estates, Goods, and their other Effects, unless the Number of these Non-Conformists should be so great as to give occasion to fear some great Commotions in that State, upon that account ; in which Case, the said State was obliged to refer the whole Matter to the Decision of the General Council ; and in the mean time to forbear all violent Methods, and forcible Means against the said Non-Conformists. As to the *Pope*, the Protestant and Reformed Powers were to consider him only as a Temporal Prince, and to deal with him in that Quality, without any hatred or jealousy, as with the first Potentate of *Europe*.

Such were the Designs of *Henry IV.* how far they were solid and practicable, considering the various Humours and Interests of the several Nations that were to enter into this Association, and the Age of that Prince, who was then in the 57th Year of his Age, I leave it to the Reader to determine. The King judging of others by himself, did not question but all the *Princes of Europe* would sincerely jump in a Design as great and honourable as it was

Henry IV. useful to the whole Christendom. I cannot
 1610. tell whether he could foresee all the Diffi-
 Pope Paul V. culties which might be met with in the Exe-
 cution, and put an insuperable Obstacle to the
 Success thereof; at least, it is certain, that he
 had very wisely provided against those which
 he had foreseen.

By what we have said, it is plain, that his
 Scheme would be very advantageous to all the
 Christian Princes of *Europe*, the House of *Aus-*
tria excepted, which was to be stript of most
 part of the Countries she had usurped at se-
 veral times from others, to restore them to
 their Natural Lords, or to be otherwise dispo-
 sed of; but it was resolved to engage that House
 to adhere freely to this Design, or to force her
 to do it.

The Means For compassing his Ends, the King, after
he employ'd the Peace of *Vervins*, endeavoured to set-
tle in his own Kingdom a solid and lasting
to execute Tranquillity, and thought it necessary to chuse
 1611 some Persons conspicuous for their great Fi-
 delity and Capacity for examining the Nature
 of his Revenues, and how they might be bet-
 tered, and to take himself cognizance of his
 own Affairs, that he might be enabled to dis-
 cern the good from the bad Counsels, the En-
 terprizes practicable from the unpracticable, those
 which did not exceed his Means, from those that
 went beyond; for he held as a Maxim, *That*
the Expences that go beyond a Prince's Revenue,
draw upon him the Curses of the People, which
are usually attended with God's.

Therefore in order to execute this, he grant-
 ed the *Reformed* the Edict of *Nantz*, to the
 end that the two Religions might subsist peace-
 ably together. Then he settled a certain Or-
 der for discharging his own and the Kingdom's
 Debts.

Debts. In the Year 1607, it appeared, that since the Peace of *Vervins*, he had already discharged 87 Millions of Livres.

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Then he went on to engage all the Christian Potentates in his great Design, offering to give them all the Advantages wherewith their Success should be attended, reserving only to himself the Glory of having contributed towards it,

He endeavoured to compose amicably all Differences between the Christian Princes as soon as they came to his knowledge. He began to make his Friends and Allies, all those States which he knew stood well affected with *France*, and were the least opposed to its Interest, such as the *United-Provinces*, *Venetians*, *Switzers*, and *Grisons*; he tampered likewise with the Crowns of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*. He did the same with the Electors, Imperial States and Cities; then he endeavoured to sift out the Inclinations of the Nobility of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, and *Poland*. The Duke of *Savoy* entered into that Alliance, being sure to obtain the King's eldest Daughter for his Son *Victor-Amadeus*; the Duke of *Bavaria* being promised the Imperial Crown, after *Rodolpb's* Death, was to exert himself with all his Might, and the *Pope* approving of the Design, was to support it powerfully.

As to himself, for several Years together, His Majesty had made Preparations suitable to the greatness of his Designs. All his Magazines were well stored with Arms and Ammunitions of all sorts; he had in his Arsenal of *Paris*, above 100 Cannons with all their Furnitures and Implements, and other Arms and Ammunitions in proportion: and whereas Money is the Sinew of all Undertakings, his Exchequer

Henry IV. chequer, thro' the Care and good OEconomy
 1610. of his Super-Intendant, was plentifully pro-
 Pope Paul V. vided with it; he had in ready Cash (all his
 Troops being paid for three Months, all his
 Places and Magazines well stored, his Cap-
 tains gratified with many fine Gifts he had
 bestowed upon them for Encouragement)
 thirty six Millions six hundred seventy eight
 thousand five hundred Livres; Item, twenty
 seven Millions for the current Year, and be-
 sides that, his Super-Intendant gave him Secu-
 rity for forty Millions a Year extraordinary,
 for three Years together: so that he was in
 a Condition to wage War for five Years to-
 gether, without vexing his Subjects with any
 new Impost. But he intended to carry it on so
 briskly and vigorously, that he might soon put
 an end to it; for he held it as a Maxim, *That
 a wise and prudent Prince, when he is obliged
 to wage War, must do it brisk and short, and
 on a sudden surprize his Enemy by formidable
 Preparations and quick Executions, because in
 such Occasions, to spend much is a saving.*

*He is rea-
 dy to begin
 to execute
 it.*

He waited only for an Opportunity to ex-
 ert himself, for it was agreed with his Allies,
 that he should not begin unless he had some
 Pretence or other to take the Field. Now
 the Succession of *Bergues* and *Juliers*, afforded
 him what he sought for.

John-William Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and
Bergues, Count of *La Mark* and *Ravensburgh*,
 Son to *William*, by *Mary* of *Austria* his Con-
 sort, Sister of the Emperor *Charles V.* and
 Grandson to *John* Duke of *Juliers*, &c. be-
 ing dead without Issue on the 25th of *March*
 1609; his Succession put all the neighbour-
 ing States in motion, not only the Issue of
 his four Sisters, but the Duke of *Saxony*, as
 descending

descending from an eldest Daughter of Duke ^{Henry IV.} *John*, Grandfather of the late Duke ^{1610.} *John-William*. The Duke of *Nevers* pretended like- ^{Pope Paul V.} wise to the Dutchy of *Cleves*, as bearing alone the Name, and quartering alone the Arms of that Duchy. For the same reason the Count of *Maulevrier* demanded the County of *La Mark*, as being the eldest of that House, and in that quality he pretended a Right to the *Duchy of Bouillon*, and the Principality of *Sedan*. But the Emperor insisting upon this, *viz.* that these Countries were Male-Fiefs, the Pretensions of these Candidates were all ill-grounded, and consequently that these Fiefs were devolved to the Empire for want of Male-Issue; he secretly invested therewith *Leopold of Austria*, Bishop of *Straßbourg*, and sent him with an Army to seize upon them.

But the Marquisses of *Brandebourg* and *New-bourg*, whose Rights were less disputable, resolving to expel him, besought the Assistance of their Friends and Allies, and especially the King's, to whom they deputed the Prince of *Anbalt*, with Letters from the Elector *Palatine* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, assuring his Majesty, that his Arms could not be more just, and would certainly be attended with a glorious Success. That Prince was very graciously received, and his Propositions very gladly accepted of, as by one who longed after such a favourable Overture for beginning the Execution of a Design premeditated for so long time before.

During all the Winter he prepared every thing for that Expedition, which was but a Covert for a greater one; and whereas he was resolved to command himself his Army, he settled such a good Order for the Government

of

Henry IV. of his Kingdom during his Absence, that his
 1610. People could not receive any Prejudice there-
 Pope Paul by. The Queen his Consort was to be Regent
 V. of the Kingdom, but her Power was so far
 limited, that she could do nothing without
 the Advice and Consent of a Council compo-
 sed of fifteen Members; and he was to esta-
 blish another Council composed of five Per-
 sons in every Province of the Kingdom,
 which would have resorted to the great one,
 wherein every thing was to be decided by
 the Plurality of Votes, the Queen having but
 her own, and they could not resolve any thing
 but according to the general Instructions, which
 he had drawn himself; and in Cases wherein
 his Instructions should not be full enough, they
 were to send for his Advice and Will.

His March deferred. While he was busied upon these Regula-
 tions, some People, and especially *Conchini*, and
Galigai his Wife, put into the Queen's head,
 to be crowned before he set out. The King
 was vexed at this Fancy, for several Reasons;
 1°. Because that Ceremony would take up
 much time. 2°. Because it would cost a great
 deal of Money. 3°. Because the Queen's Au-
 thority would be increased thereby. He was
 extremely impatient to be out of *Paris*. I
 don't know what secret Foresight he had,
 which made him uneasy under the Apprehen-
 sion of some fatal Blow; however, he could
 not refuse that Token of his Affection to the
 Queen, who so earnestly desired it.

She was crowned at *St. Denis*, on the 13th
 of *May*, and on the 16th she was to make her
 publick Entry at *Paris*,

The King's Troops had already repaired
 to their Rendezvous upon the Frontiers of
Champaign; the Duke of *Roban* was ready to
 set

set out to receive the 6000 *Switzers* that were ^{Henry IV.} to join the Army, and fifty Cannons with all ^{1610.} their Furniture were already out of the Ar- ^{Pope Paul V.}senal in order to be carried to the Camp: every Hour of Delay was a Year for the King, so much he long'd to be upon his Journey.

There had been at *Paris*, for two Years together, a certain Villain, namely FRANCIS RAVAILLAC, a Man of the meanest Extraction, born in *Angoumois*; he had been formerly a Monk, then having forsaken the Monkly Order before he was professed, he had kept a School; then he set up himself for a Solicitor, and came to *Paris*. It is uncertain whether he came on purpose to perpetrate this Devilish Action, or if being come upon some other account, he was induced to this execrable Attempt by People who knowing that he preserved still some Relicks of the League, and the Notion that the King was going to overthrow the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, judged him fit for that desperate Action.

If 'tis asked, Who were the Devils or Furies that inspired this Wretch? We can't be positive as to that. But we know with as great a Certainty as any thing can be in History, 1°. That from many Places the King had received Advice, that there was a Plot against his Life. 2°. That the Rumour of his Death was published in Print in *Spain* and at *Milan*, before it happened. 3°. That eight Days before the fatal Blow, a Courier passed thro' *Liege*, who said that he brought News to the Princes of *Germany*, that the King had been murdered. 4°. That on the 19th of *October*, the Year before, the Lord *Du Plessis* received Notice from a Gentleman, that a large Book had been discovered at *La Fleche*, kept by
one

Henry IV. one *Medor*, Tutor to some young Gentlemen
 1610. belonging to the College of the *Jesuits* in that
 Pope Paul Place, which Book contained a formal Promise,
 V. with Oath blindly to obey the Pope's Orders
 whatever they be, and several Hundreds of
 Subscriptions; it was written partly with Ink,
 and partly with Blood; the Names of the Sub-
 scribers were mostly written with Blood. The
 said Book had been discovered by chance in
Medor's Chamber, and was transferred imme-
 diately after from the House where he lodged
 to *Du Cros's*, a Native of *Auvergne*, Member
 of the Society of *Jesuits*, who formerly be-
 longed to the Duke of *Merceur*, and who
 lived then near *St. Germain's* Gate at *La Fleche*.
Du Plessis sent his Information to the Duke of
Sully, who made all Search possible, but un-
 luckily he mistook *St. Germain's* Gate of *Paris*
 for that of *La Fleche*, where he did not send.

*He is mur-
 dered.*

Now to come to the Execution of this hor-
 rid Plot. The 14th of *May* the King came
 out of the *Louvre*, about Four of the Clock
 in the Afternoon, in order to go into the City,
 he sat in the Back-side of his Coach, with the
 Duke of *Espernon* on his Side; the Duke of
Montbazon, and five other Lords, sat in the
 Fore-part. His Coach coming from *St. Honoré-
 street* into *la Ferronnerie's* was stopt by two
 Carts, one loaded with Wine, the other with
 Hay, which incumbered the Way, the Street
 being very narrow; his Footmen for avoiding
 the Incumbrance, had passed under the Charnels
 of *St. Innocent*, so that no body standing by the
 Coach the Villain, who for several Weeks before,
 had obstinately followed the King, took this
 opportunity for executing his damnable Plot.
 He took notice of the side where his Majesty
 sat, slipt on that side between the Shops and
 the

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the Coach, and putting his Foot upon one ^{Henry VI.} Spoke of the Wheel, with an enraged fierceness smote the King with a long Knife, between the second and third Rib. At this Blow the King cried, *I am wounded*; but the Wretch without being frightened, repeated his Stroke, and this time hit him just at the Heart, whereof the King died upon the Spot; the Villain was still repeating, but the Stroke was lost in the Duke of *Montbazou's* Sleeve. He was so confoundedly desperate, that he did not care either to fly or to hide his Knife; but he stood in the place, and was taken without the least Resistance.

The King being dead, the Duke of *Espernon* ordered the Coach to go back to the *Louvre*, where the Corpse was opened in the presence of 26 Physicians and Surgeons, and all his Parts were found so wholesome, that according to the Course of Nature, he might have lived 30 Years longer. His Bowels were instantly carried and buried at *St. Denis* without any Pomp or Ceremony; his Heart was given to the *Jesuits*, who carried it into their Church at *La Fleche*; and his Corpse being embalmed, was put in a Leaden Coffin, and this in a Wooden one, covered with a Golden Cloth, and remained under a Canopy in his Bedchamber, where Mass was said for eighteen Days together, over two Altars erected for that purpose; and then it was brought and deposited in *St. Denis's* Church. (1).

So died *Henry IV.* in the middle of the 57th Year of his Age, in the 38th Year of ^{His Character.} his

(1) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. III. from pag. 360 to 481. *Vie de Du Pleffis*, Liv. ii. pag. 337. *Memoires de Du Pleffis*, Tom. III^e. pag. 206. *Perefixe Hist. de Henry le Grand* 3^e partie.

Henry IV. his Reign of *Navarre*, and in the 21st of that
 1610. of *France*. With him died the PROTECTOR
 Pope Paul V. of the *Reformed*, the RESTORER of *France*,

the FATHER of his People, the PATTERN
 of all royal, political and military Virtues, the
 DREAD of *Spain* and her Adherents, the DE-
 LIGHT of his Friends and Allies, the WON-
 DER of the World. As his glorious Feats in
 time of War proclaimed him the greatest, so
 his Cares in time of Peace; for procuring the
 Wealth and Welfare of his Subjects; proclaim-
 ed him the best of Kings. He was no less
 conspicuous for his Affability and Clemency,
 than for his Strictness to his Word and Pro-
 mises, being used to say, *that if Veracity and*
Fidelity was lost in the World, it ought to be
 sought for out of a King's Mouth. He loved
 extremely his Nobility, and took it as a great
 Honour to style himself the Head of that
 illustrious Body. He loved so perfectly well
 his People, that he was continually attentive
 to find out ways and means to ease them,
 to procure their Safety and Welfare. Some
 Troops with he sent to *Germany*, having plun-
 dered some Peasants Houses in *Champaign*
 he told their Captains, that had stayed a few
 Days at *Paris*, *Set out in all haste, put a stop*
to these Robberies, or else you shall answer in
your own Persons for them. What! If my Peo-
ple is ruined, who will maintain me, who will
bear the Charges of the State, who will pay your
Pensions, Gentlemen? By God, to assault my People
is to assault my self.

But was he perfect! Were there no Blemishes
 in him? Indeed he was a Man, and as such,
 subject to the Frailties of human Nature. But
 one must not believe inconsiderately whatever
 the Historians, Reformed or Catholicks, have

written

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written upon that Subject, the first could not forgive him his Change of Religion, the second were most part of them Leaguers or bribed by them. He has been charged with Avarice, but never a Prince was less avaricious than him, he paid all his Debts exactly, even those contracted at Play; he paid exactly all his Merchants, Artificers, &c. that worked for him, he erected several public Buildings, &c. encouraged Trade and Manufacturies, recompensed those who had well deserved of him or the State, unless there should be some particular Reason which hindered him to shew his Gratitude; he discharged many great national Debts, he eased his People from several burthensome Taxes, and he did spend every Year above three Millions of Livres in Pensions and Gratifications all over his Kingdom. Where is then his Avarice? True it is, he was not so prodigal as his Predecessors; but if he did husband well his Finances, it was for saving the Substance of his poor People, being thoroughly persuaded that nothing is more unjust for a Prince than to vex whole Provinces for gratifying some greedy Courtiers, the LEECHES of the People.

I much wish that I could so easily vindicate his Reputation as to two other Points, his Lewdness and his Passion for Playing; the first was the Occasion of many domestick Troubles and Vexations, and not unlikely of his Death; the Queen his Consort's Ill-humour was continually increased by the Reports which her *Italian* Servants, especially *La Galigai*, made unto her; she very seldom gave a good Word to the King her Husband.

As to his Religion, I cannot persuade myself that he was a thorough Roman Catholick,

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though he was obliged to appear so in publick, because he was too well instructed in the Christian Doctrine to admit the Tenets of that new Paganism. True it is, that he stood in a terrible dread of the Pope and his Satellites, especially the Jesuits; and that he endeavoured, by all means, to win them to his Interest, doing many things in their behalf, and overlooking many of their Misdemeanors, not to be obliged to punish them as they deserved; but it was not out of Love, or Respect, but rather out of Fear of their Knives, which however, he fell a Victim to.

He left three Sons and three Daughters by *Mary of Medicis*; *Lewis*, who succeeded him; the second, had no Name, he died before he was christen'd, in the fourth Year of his Age; he was stiled Duke of *Orleans*, which Title was devolved to the youngest Son, named *John Baptist Gascon*. His three Daughters were *Elizabeth*, *Christiana* and *Henrietta Mary*; the first was married to *Philip IV.* of *Spain*, the second to *Victor Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, and the last to *Charles I.* King of *Great-Britain*. His Bastards were in much greater number; six by *Gabrielle* of *Etrées*, two by *Henrietta* of *Balzac*, one by *Jacqueline de Bueil*, and two by *Charlotte des Essars*; besides several others which he refused to acknowledge for his own.

The Catastrophe of that great Prince gives us this Instruction, that we are not to depend upon the Grandeurs of this World; whatever Admiration we have for them, they are but Bubbles, they vanish the same Minute that they appear.

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.

HISTORY



